

## CHAPTER XCIII.

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BEGINNING OF THE 32ND YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE  
THIRD CYCLE.

At this time, when the Age was praying to the daily-increasing Fortune, and there was a new diurnal market of thanksgiving, the world was made of a musky fragrance by the shedding of the 'Attar (otto of roses) of Spring. Small and great were seized by new joy. The world-adorning king's diadem gave new lustre to custom, and made the Earth the envied of Heaven.

*Verse.*

The world's lord once more adorned the Earth.

He made Time and the Terrene like Paradise.

On Saturday 11 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī 995, 10 or 11 March, 1587, after the passing of 5 hours, 27 minutes, the fountain-head of light filled with glory the Sign of Aries. The spiritual and temporal ruler sate on the throne of gratification of desires and of justice. Each day there was a new feast, and one of the grandees of the court presided over it. On the 16th the Khān-khānān and 'Azdu-d-daula came from Gujarat and paid their respects. An order had been given that as that country was tranquil, the general should come to court, and make over the affairs of the province to 'Azdu-d-daula, Qulīj K., and Khawājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī. Or if he thought it better that he should remain there, he was to send to court Qulīj K. and Khawājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. As the country was quiet, he set off on a swift camel, and made the long journey in the course of fifteen days. Mīr Fath Ullah from his great desire of service came also. Nūr Qulīj, Qāzī Hasan and other gatherers of auspiciousness, who had accompanied them, were admitted to a reception. At the close of this day, M. Yūsuf K. came from Bihar and did homage. The lord of the universe came out on the throne of fortune. His obedient children, his other relatives, the great nobles, and the



gatherers of contemplative and practical wisdom sate here and there.

*Verse.*

A wondrous banqueting-hall brightened the heavens,  
Such as the stars have not seen in their dreams;  
Eyes were bewildered by beholding it.  
Wisdom became tongueless, and the tongue became ear.

Crowds of men obtained their desires, and there were varied delights. At dawn H.M. visited the garden of Shahbāz K., and thanksgivings to God were renewed.

One of the occurrences was that the government of Zābulistān was restored to Zain K. Koka. As it appeared that the Rajpūt clan behaved with injustice to the subjects of that country, and that  
**518** Kuar Mān Singh did not look closely into the case of the oppressed, and disliked that cold country, it was taken from him, and he was appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs, and his fief was assigned to him in the eastern districts. On the day of the culmination (*sharaf*) an order was given that the Kokaltāsh should hasten from Begrām to Kabul and exercise watchfulness and the distribution of justice. The orders were carried out, and Zābulistān became civilized.



## CHAPTER XCIV.

## THE MARRIAGE OF PRINCE SULTĀN MURĀD.

Just as far-sighted wisdom considers marriage evil for the emancipated ones of the chosen path, so does it regard it as a great source of success for those who are tied to social life. Especially do great rulers approve of it, for their efforts are devoted to the production of unity, and to the removing the dust of complexity by the water of simplicity. Inevitably does the highly-born choose a consort, and by that means does he raise up a glorious seed. When he reflects how by so many generations the series of creation has come down from the first father to him, how can he refrain from making use of the waters of the Divine fountain? And how can he think it wrong to keep that fountain full? I admit that there is another side to this. It is clear that the commotion of desire causes distraction among men. And wherever this pleasure is partaken of in early youth—which is the home of improper desires—evil thoughts produce mischief. Though the jewel of goodness hath its seat in man's nature and has not much to do with ancestors, yet if it show itself in a noble family, it has a fresh lustre. In the extensive country of India men are active to form this union at a tender age, and this introduces the leaven of evil. The world's lord will on no account admit of it before puberty, and will not anticipate the proper time for it. Accordingly when that jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate—Prince Sultān Murād—had reached the age of 17, H.M. gave his attention to the matter, and considered it anxiously. Meanwhile one who knew the secrets of the harem represented that the Khān Ā'zim Mīrzā Koka wished that his chaste daughter might attain this great fortune, and that his family might obtain fresh glory. The Shāhinshāh signified his acceptance, and the officers of the court arranged matters. On 25 Ardibihisht, 5 May, 1587, there was a joyful assemblage in the palace of Miriam Makānī, and the marriage was celebrated in the presence of His Majesty. 519



## Verse.

One of the occurrences was that the Kabul road became peaceful. Tribes of Afghans inhabited between Kabul and the Indus, and from ignorance and selfishness they molested travellers, and stretched out the hand of oppression over the feeble. H.M. resolved that he would establish *serais*<sup>1</sup> in those dangerous places and put some brave men into each of them. Zain K. undertook the improvement of Sarkhdiwār, which is near Khurd Kābul; Khwājah Shamsu-d-dīn took charge of the country between the Dūāb and Bādām Casma. Hamza 'Arab got Bārīk Āb; Haidar 'Alī 'Arab got Jagdalak, and Haidar 'Alī Khwesh, Sarkh Āb; Mozaffar Koka, Safed Sang; Darvesh Islamābādī, Tārīk Āb; Kafshī Bahādur, Basāwal; Takhta Beg, Daka; Banda 'Alī Maidānī, Gharībkhāna<sup>2</sup>; Shāh Beg, the country between Begrām and Atak Benares. H.M. also sent a large sum of money by the hands of Hilāl Aftābcī to the Kokaltāsh in order that it might be distributed to the above-named persons, and that he might carry out this business under his own supervision. In a short time the orders were carried out, and the face of the age was brightened by the roseate hues of justice. Also at this time the Ghorī<sup>3</sup> tribe repented of their former conduct and took refuge with the governor of Kabul. At his request an order of pardon was issued to them. For some time, a place was, at his request, given to them near Jalālābād, and afterwards they received land in Peshawar where their homes were. On 22 Khurdād, 1 June 1587, the feast of the lunar weighment took place, and that celestial frame was weighed against eight articles. The needy had their wishes gratified. Also at this time, Sādiq K. came<sup>4</sup> from Bhakar and was exalted by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of Rajah Todal Mal. On the night of the 17th (Amardād=28 July) he was going to his

<sup>1</sup> Also called *thānas*.

<sup>2</sup> Gharībkhāna. This was a station on the route between Kabul and Peshawar, and apparently was in the Khaibar and between Daka and Alī Masjīd. It was here that the Afghans inflicted a great defeat on

Muhammad Āmīn, the son of Mīr Jumla in the reign of Aurangzeb, 1079, 1668-89. See Khāfī Khān II. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Elphinstone II. 46.

<sup>4</sup> 28 Rajab = 25 June 1587. Elliot V. 456.



house from the palace. A hot-headed fellow came out of ambush and struck him with a sword. The Rajah's companions seized and killed him. His well-wishers suspected some good men, and out of envy, which is common among the sons of the world, simple people believed this. When far-sighted courtiers inquired into the matter, it was found that the wicked Khatrī<sup>1</sup> had found his opportunity, and paid off his grudge. His accomplices were seized, and all received their punishment. The Rajah, by the aid of H.M., soon recovered. 520

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<sup>1</sup> See Badayūnī, Lowe, 377.



## CHAPTER XCV.

## THE DISPATCH OF AN ARMY UNDER MATLAB K., AND THE DISGRACE OF THE JALĀLA TĀRĪKĪS.

From the time that Mān Singh had fought in the defiles and had won a hard-earned victory, he could not bring himself to enter the mountains again, and spent his time in Jamrūd near the Khaibar ravine, and indulged in futilities of speech. H.M. censured him, and took measures for the uprooting of the thornbrake of the Tārīkīs. Another army was appointed to go to the hills by the route of Bangash, while Mān Singh should march from Bigrām. On 7 Ardībihisht, 18 April, Beg Nūrīn K., Sheroya K., Selīm K., Muḥammad Husain, S. 'Alī, Muḥammad Alif, Aḥmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Moẓaffar Koka, Kafshī Bahādur, Shādī Beg, Hasan 'Alī 'Arab, S. M'arūf, S. Kabīr, Walī Beg, Mohan Dās, Allah Bakhsh, Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn and other brave men were sent off under the command of Maṭṭalib (sic) K. When they reached the Indus near Sambala, Zangī K. and other heads of the Niyāzī clan—who had their home near there—joined the victorious army. The latter crossed at the Copāra<sup>1</sup> ferry (*guẓr*), and reached the villages of the 'Īsākhel. Fīrūz K., Jamāl, 'Alī and others came and paid their respects. Most were of opinion that they should march up to Bangash by Daur and Naghz, and from there hasten on to the homes of the Tārīkīs. Jamāl Tārīkī, by the guidance of his star, joined the army. He represented that the best route was by the Ābdara, which is a defile between Bānū and Dar<sup>2</sup> Samand from which the Bangash river emerges. After crossing the river in several places in the course of twelve *kos*, one arrives at the town of Dar Samand. As his words bore the marks of truthfulness, they took that road. Near

<sup>1</sup> Cobāra in text. A note in Chalmers' MS. says it is Cantaba 40 m. S.E. Peshawar. It is the Chaupāra of Bābur, 160, which appears on Elphinstone's map as Chudiwala, and in Govt. maps as Chapara. It is

nearly due S. Peshawar and at the end of the Salt Range. It is mentioned in J. II. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Marked on Govt. map N. of Thal and S.S.W. Peshawar.



Buland<sup>1</sup> Khail the cultivation of the Tārīkīs was grazed upon by the animals, and news came that Jalāla had come out of Lūcak—which is a rugged spot and his fortress—and was three *kos* from Dar Samand, and was meditating a night-attack. At night the officers came out of their camp and were on their guard. Next day they arrived at Dar Samand. When the enemy perceived that they could do nothing at night, and as they were also disturbed by the news of the approach of the Jamrūd army, they resolved that at the time of encamping, when the soldiers were not in battle-order, they would make an attack. In accordance with this resolution they, on 14 521 Amardād (beginning of August 1587), at midday, when the air was excessively hot, suddenly appeared with 1,000 cavalry and 15,000 foot. They entered into a fight with Shīroya K., Beg Nūrīn K., and Selīm K., who were in charge of the rearguard. At this time Muḥ. Qulī Beg, Ḥasan ‘Alī ‘Arab and others arrived, and turned back the enemy’s van. The wretch (Jalāla) turned his rein and came near the camp by another route. Muḥ. Alif, Aḥmad Beg, Shādī B., Mohan Dās and others came up, and fought bravely. There was a time of life-scattering, and of hunting for lives. Though the thread of combat was severed, and the general had not the good fortune to mount<sup>2</sup> his horse, and many brave men could not come up, the wondrous Fortune—which is an example of the Divine aid—displayed the countenance of victory. Five hundred and fifty of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and 1000 were killed in their flight. The foolish one after a thousand failures took shelter in the hills. No man of note in the victorious army was wounded, but for nine Turanians was the cup of life filled. Sixteen young men became known by their wounds. If the Jamrūdarmy had come up, Jalāla would have been taken. But they followed him up and plundered his home and set fire to his household goods. The whole of the Afrīdī and Orakzai tribes who sheltered that wicked one, gave hostages and became submissive. The army returned and came to Bangash, though,<sup>3</sup> on account of the scarcity, it was difficult to

<sup>1</sup> S.S.W. Thal.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the meaning is that the place was too rugged for him to use his horse. See B. 403.

<sup>3</sup> The text makes this a new

clause. Badayūnī, Lowe, 368, refers to this expedition. I do not think the original means that the wrath of God fell upon the imperialists.



remain there. Maṭṭalib was seized with a strange insanity and was sent to court.

One<sup>1</sup> of the occurrences was the sending of M. Yūsuf K. to take charge of Kashmīr. Qāsim K. had by strenuous exertions, and a wide capacity, taken that delightful country, and had endured great labours. He brought many recalcitrants to punishment, and he sent many leaders to court. A large number too had joined him. The country was civilized by justice, and foes retreated to the lanes of failure. But at this time of thanksgiving his foot began to slide, and bad companionship led him into improper desires. He set himself to oppress the Kashmīrīs, and demanded what the soldiers of the country had taken at the time of Y'aqūb's<sup>2</sup> supremacy. During the winter time, which was not the season of coming and going, men endured with bitterness, but when the climate became milder, the wasps-nest of the evil-minded became active. Many left him, and brought out Y'aqūb from his despised position. There was a hot commotion in Janīr<sup>3</sup> 23 kos from the city. Though troops went there, they could not carry through the business. Qāsim was obliged to go there in person. When he approached, Y'aqūb hastened

**522** towards the city by secret routes. The officers followed him rapidly. He took refuge at a little hill in Bahārah,<sup>4</sup> three kos from the city, and waited his opportunity. The imperialists arrived there. Though by the rapid march the capital was saved from plunder, yet on account of the strength of the place, and the difficulties of the roads, their object was not accomplished. They had to leave the proper work unfinished and to come to the city. The enemy's strength increased. After some time, Qāsim again came out to fight. Though every day there was fighting between the skirmishers, yet on five

<sup>1</sup> See Chalmers' translation in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 206.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *az* Y'aqūb, but no such preposition appears in the I.O. MSS. Apparently the meaning is that Qāsim demanded from the people what had already been collected from them by Y'aqūb's soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> This name is doubtful. It may be Jainapūra or Zainapūr S. of Sri-

nagar, and W. Bij Bihāra. In I.O. MS. 236 it seems to be Khapar, and Chalmers read Khyber. See Stein I. 97 for Jainapūr.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant Bhāgnagar. Perhaps pargana Phāk, Stein II. 452, is meant. I.O. MS. 236 has Bhāg or Bhāk. Phāk is mentioned as a pargana in J. II. 369.



occasions there were close engagements, followed by victory. On the sixth occasion, which was when Saiyid 'Abdullah was in command, there was a disaster, and Mīrzāda 'Alī<sup>1</sup> was killed. The brave men defeated the enemy, and got to the top of the hill. At this time it came on to rain (snow?). The experienced were of opinion that they should encamp, but this view was not accepted, and they retreated. As they were descending, the wicked foe showered stones and arrows from every side. Owing to the hurry, the narrowness of the defile, and the slipperiness of the road, men lost heart and fell, one on the top of the other, and Mīrzāda 'Alī lost his life. Srī Rang, the cousin of Rai Rai Singh, and 40 men, stood firm and fought bravely. They yielded up their short lives and reaped eternal renown. The steadiness of some brave men was the means of saving many. Nearly 300 were killed. Next day Qāsim went forward to do battle. The Kashmīrīs lost heart and fled, and Y'aqūb went off to Kāmraj. The officers returned and had a joyful meeting. Y'aqūb and Shams Cak made a treaty with one another, and stirred up commotion. But as there is no concord in that country, they quarreled near Andarkūl.<sup>2</sup> After a short time they were reconciled by the efforts of some men, and it was agreed that as by their being in one place, the disputes between the servants led to disagreements among the masters, they should remain separate. With this view Y'aqūb went off to the hill<sup>3</sup> of Sulaimān, and was active there, and Shams Cak went to Andarkūl. Many thought that the victorious army should also divide itself into two bands. But most men did not approve of this, thinking that loss would ensue if they were in two places. All resolved first to attack Y'aqūb and went off in that direction. Every day there was

<sup>1</sup> He was a friend of Badayūnī, who has some touching verses about his death, and that of another friend. Lowe, 380. Blochmann, 465, says Saiyid Abdullah was killed on this occasion, but this is a mistake; he died of a fever a year afterwards. See Badayūnī l.c. and the Maasīru-l-Umarā II, 401.

<sup>2</sup> The Indarkūl of Jarrett II, 370, where it is entered as in the S.W.

division of the Kāmraj tract. But apparently, the proper name is Indrakot. According to Murray, it is 12 m. N.-W. Srīnagar and is marked as Jayapūra and Andrakot on Stein's map, and as the Andarkath, i.e. inner fort, of his paper, p. 197. It is 5 miles below Shādīpūr.

The Takht-i-Sulaimān S.E. the city.



fighting, and by the might of daily-increasing fortune, victory declared herself. On the 5th<sup>1</sup> day of the month (Shahriyūr) Qāsim went off with a number of brave men, and a great battle took place. Fath 'Alī, the leader of the enemy, was killed by an arrow, and the foe were dispersed. The imperialists returned with great joy. Y'aqūb joined Shams Cak, and in a short time again came near the  
**523** city, and stirred up commotion. There is a high spot<sup>2</sup> one kos from the city. It is half a kos long and one-fourth broad. There are some ponds round about it, and in front there is a pond which it is difficult to cross. Those two scoundrels took shelter there with a large following, and in season and out of season they emerged, and plundered. Every day a body of the imperialists came out to fight with them. Qāsim K. too got disgusted and petitioned for his recall. H. M. accepted his request and sent M. Yūsuf K. as the commander of the country. Jagannāth, Husain Beg, S. 'Ūmrī, Saiyid Bahāūd-dīn, Qarā Beg, Muhammed Bhat, Bābā Khalīl, Mullā Tālib Isfahānī and many other strenuous persons accompanied him. An order was given that when the wicked had been punished, Qāsim K. should return to Court. When the Kashmīrīs heard of the coming of the army, they sent some men to the ravines, in order that by coalescing with the Nāikān (guardians of the passes) they might make the road secure. When M. Yūsuf K. heard of this he sent off Muhammad Bhat, Bābā Khalīl and Mullā Tālib with conciliatory messages. Though the guardians of the routes did not wait upon them, yet they yielded to their soft speeches and turned aside. M. Yūsuf left Jagannāth at the foot of the pass and traversed it himself with ease. Before they had reached the camping<sup>3</sup> ground the evildoers had dispersed. Y'aqūb went off to Kathwāra (Kishtwār) and Shams Cak took refuge in the hills of Kāmraj. M. Yūsuf gave Qāsim K. leave to go to Court, and secretly bade adieu to Jagannāth. He unloosed the tongue of conciliation and set about winning hearts. A remedy was found for men's terror. He sent Mubarik K., Jalāl K. and Saiyid Daulat with a body of men against Shams Cak. The latter made a night attack from Taragānw<sup>4</sup> and obtained much plunder.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the meaning is the fifth day of the fighting. [meant.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Harī Parbat is

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Qāsim's camp.

<sup>4</sup> The Tāragāon of Vigne, J. II, 365, p. 1, and the Trahgām of the



At dawn the imperialists pursued him and inflicted such a defeat on him that he did not rise up again, and made his submission on the safe-conduct of Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn. M. Yūsuf K. sent him to court with the Mīr (Bahāū-d-dīn).

One of the occurrences was the birth of Sultān Khusrau. The Almighty Creator has adorned the honoured personality of H. M. with thousands of praiseworthy qualities, and his fortune is daily increasing. But the arrival of every thing depends on the movements of the heavens and is associated with a particular time. At this time which was the beginning of the spring time of dominion, the appearance of a grandson—which is one of the great gifts of God, and the most excellent fruit of age—the universe had new expansion, and mankind had new strength. After the lapse of ten hours and thirty-six minutes, on the day of Dīn 24 Amardād (about middle August 1587), the auspicious pearl displayed itself in the city of Lahore, in the bedchamber of Prince Sultān Selīm, from the chaste womb of the daughter of Rajah Bhagwant Dās. The news brought joy, and the Age set itself to rejoice. The coiners of celestial mysteries opened their far-seeing eyes and expounded somewhat of the glorious work of 524 the spheres and the stars.

*Verse.*

They held an assembly for studying the spheres,  
They elevated the balance of the stars,  
Such a horoscope appeared for that son!  
What shall I say? Bravo, Begone O evil eye!

According to the Greek rules, the horoscope was the 9th degree of Capricorn and according to Indian sages it was the 22nd degree of Sagittarius. If the life-wearing world give me leisure, and if it be my destiny to remain for some space in Society, and I be not alienated from literature, and if H. M. will it, I shall give a full account of this horoscope. H. M. called this child Sultan Khusrau. I hope that he may grow up an enlightened man, and acquire noble qualities.

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the Gujarat commotion. Panchanan,<sup>1</sup> the brother's son of Khankār, the ruler of Kach,

Ayīn. It was the residence of the Caks. It is the Trigraīm or Tregaon

of Stein's map and is N.-W. Srinagar.

<sup>1</sup> Variant, Bajāīn.



collected vagabonds and came to attack Halwad. Rai Singh of Jhālā rose up to contend with him, and bravely played away the coin of his life. Qulīj K. was in Aḥmadābād with some officers and was guarding the city. Saīyid Qāsim, Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others were sent off to punish the strifemongers. The latter took refuge in the Bardā<sup>1</sup> hills. Their houses were plundered. The Jām and Khangar came forward with submissions. The officers returned and had a joyful assembly. A week had not passed when Moẓaffar came out of the recesses and raised the head of commotion. He stirred up strife in the direction of Dūlqa, and so the above-named officers went off there. On hearing of this he went off towards Mūlī<sup>2</sup> and out of regard to comfort, a proper search was not made. One of the instances of daily-increasing fortune was that the honour of Mustāfa, son of Saiyid Jalāl, was by the protection of God preserved. He was taking his family to Bīraīngānw. At the time that the officers were in pursuit, and that Moẓaffar was in a bewildered state, Mustāfa took refuge in a village.<sup>3</sup> Moẓaffar tried to seize him, and he plundered the place. He (Mustāfa) planted the foot of courage in his house and prepared to sacrifice his life. Meanwhile the noise<sup>4</sup> of drums was heard, and Moẓaffar went off quickly, thinking it was an army. Though the imperialists were marching quietly, yet they sent some to beat drums in that neighbourhood.

Also, at this time the Yūsufzai tribe was punished. Owing to their evil fate, the strength of their country and the disaster of the imperial army made them bolder in their presumptuousness and wickedness. Though the non-arrival of the army added to their refractoriness, yet their egress and ingress were shut up, and they were plundered. Many of them were<sup>5</sup> sold (as slaves), and many died of various illnesses.

<sup>1</sup> Barī in text.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from Elliot V. 445 that this should be Morbī.

<sup>3</sup> According to the T. A., Elliot V. 445, this was Akhār, 4 kos from Bīrāmgām (Veerumgāon).

<sup>4</sup> See the story of Nizām-ud-dīn's stratagem in Elliot V. 445. He sent 20 horse with a pair of kettle-drums

to beat at a distance of one kos from the village.

<sup>5</sup> There is the variant, "Many of their families were sold," and perhaps the meaning rather is that the Yūsufzais sold their wives and children. This agrees with the statement of the author of the Khulāṣat Tawārīkh, that it is notorious that



One of the occurrences was the dispatch of S'aīd K. to the government of Bengal. News came that Wazīr K.<sup>1</sup> had died of diarrhœa on 21 Amardād (August). As everything was done prudently, an order was given that S'aīd K. should go from Behar to that quarter; that Payanda (Moghal) who held fiefs there, should obtain a jagīr in Ghoraghāt; that the *tuyuls* of Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh in the Panjab should be taken from them, and that they should get others in Behar. On 16 Shahriyūr Mīr Murād<sup>2</sup> was sent off that he might speedily put these two places in the possession of the jāgīrdārs, and take S'aīd K. to Bengal. Mān Singh was summoned from Begrām in order that Rajah Bhagwant Dās might have charge of the royal harem and that Mān Singh might go to his new fiefs and develop them.

On 1 Ābān the solar weighment of H. M. took place, and there was a great feast. According to the rules, he was weighed against twelve articles. The dust of desire was removed from the face of the world, and the needy attained the joy of success. Also at this time Shādmān was exalted by princely favours, and Ghaznīn was given to him in fief. He is the son of Murād Hazārā, and his home is between Ghaznīn and Qandahār. His ancestors did good service, but he from crooked thoughts and short-sightedness had hitherto abode in the wilds. At this time he turned the face of submission to the court and received various favours. He was allowed to depart on 1 Āzar. On 28th, Kuar Mān Singh came from Jamrūd and paid his respects, and was sent to Behar on 6 Dai. On the same day Yūsuf K., ruler of Kashmīr, was relieved from prison, and treated with favour. He was given a fief in Behar. The sole desire of H. M. was that he would learn the proprieties, and would cherish his subjects, and be of awakened mind. When his conduct showed marks of prudence, the delightful country of Kashmīr would be made over to him.

the Yūsufzais sold their wives and children for bread.

<sup>1</sup> He was from Herat and was a brother of Abdul Majīd Āsaf K., B. 353. He died at Tānda (Stewart's Bengal 179). For Wazīr's biography see the Maasir M. III. 929.

<sup>2</sup> B. 498. The Iqbāl-nāma calls him a sazāwal. He is elsewhere spoken of as belonging to Isfarain. The Iqbāl-nāma adds some details about opposition being offered to M. Murād by Wazīr's son. See A. N. infra, p. 534.



One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka to seize Swād and Bajaur. Though the Yūsufzai tribe had received suitable punishment, yet they did not refrain from robbery and wickedness. At the time when Jalāla Tārīkī got into difficulties, he went off from the defiles of Tīrāh to the Yūsufzaīs, and the wretches gave him a place among themselves. As H.M. desired that the Kokaltāsh might be delivered from his former disgrace, an order was given that Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn (Khāwfi) and a body of men should be left in charge of Kabul, and that Zain K. should go with his officers to Swād and Bajāur. An order was also given to the army of Jamrūd and Bangash that every one should apply himself to the capturing of the ringleader of the Tārīkīs, and that they should take care that he did not get away in that direction. Also Ism‘ail

**526** Qulī was removed from Ohand and sent to near Qabīla Ayāzī? in order that he might watch over Ishtaghir<sup>1</sup> (Hashtnagar). Šādiq K. and some other officers were sent from court to take post on the plain of Swād in order that Jalāla might be taken on whatever side he emerged. To Jagannāth (S. Behāri Mal, B. 381) who had returned from Kashmīr, an order was issued that he should join the Koka. On the 21st the Kokaltāsh had made his arrangements to set about the work. Haider Ali Khwesh and others went with him. They took the road of Kāmāh<sup>2</sup> and Kushka and that of Samaj.<sup>3</sup> The Tārīkīs and the Yūsufzaīs fortified the Nāwalā Pass<sup>4</sup> and prepared for battle. The imperialists turned back and marched by Dānishkol, and built a fort at the head of the three roads to Bajaur, Hashtnagar and Tīrāh. They brought corn from the Lamghānāt and erected granaries. This raised the spirit of the army. By an unknown route they entered Bajaur, and there was some fighting. The jewel of bravery received new lustre, and many of the wicked were killed. Some escaped by being admitted to quarter. The Tārīkī was nearly seized, but he came out by the pass of which Ism‘ail Qulī was in charge, and hurried off to Tīrāh. Ism‘ail was one of the thānadārs of the plains (*dasht*). He was aggrieved at the sending of Šādiq, and from caprice went to court and left the passage open.

<sup>1</sup> See J. II, n. 1, where a list of the eight villages is given.

<sup>2</sup> J. II. 411.

<sup>3</sup> A road leading from Kabul to Bajaur, J. II. 392.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant Nawagai, and no doubt this is right, for Nawagai is a village in Bajaur.



At this time Jalāla got his opportunity and came out of the defile and went off. When H. M. heard of the misconduct of Ism'ail Qulī K. he censured him, and sent Āṣaf K. in his room.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of Rajah Madhukar.<sup>1</sup> This mountaineer of slumbrous fortune withdrew from accompanying the army of the Deccan, and instead of apologising, he increased his refractoriness. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and other fief-holders went off to punish him. On the 23rd, when they came within four *kos* of Undea (Oorcha) which was his residence, he came forward with protestations. By the intervention of Rajah Askaran and Rajah Jagman, his submission led to his deliverance. He waited upon the general, but from short-sightedness he fell into evil thoughts and went off into the desert. As advice was of no avail, his home was plundered. From want of provisions they could not stay there and proceeded to take the fort of Kajwa. Indrajīt and Satrāī, his sons, and Hardeo, his grandson, had strengthened this place. They came out into the defiles to give battle, and were defeated. One day Rāghū Dās, his brother's son, fought. Samānjī K. and M. Beg Qāqshāl gave proof of bravery and were victorious, and that wretch (Rāghū) was killed. They besieged the fort for a month. Every time that the enemy came to fight, they failed shamefully. 527 When they had no strength to contend, they fled. Every one went off to his fief.

One of the occurrences<sup>2</sup> was the capital punishment of M. Fūlād

<sup>1</sup> The father of A. F.'s murderer. See his biography in Māāṣir II. 131. The genealogical tree in B. 483 does not mention the sons named in text. Indrajīt and Satrujīt are mentioned by Mr. Silberrad. A.S.B.J. for 1902, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> See Badayūnī, Lowe, 327 and 376. As pointed out by Rieu I. 118, there is an account of Aḥmad in the Majālisī-l-Mūmīnīn. The passage occurs in Hājī Ibrāhīm's lithographed edition, p. 245. Aḥmad is there called the son of Naṣr Ullah, the Qāzī of Tatta. Aḥmad was es-

pecially objectionable to the Sunnīs because he was an apostate, his father having been a Hanifī Sunnī. The Majālis 246 tells a story of how Aḥmad implied by an answer to Akbar that the murder of Uṣmān, the 3rd Caliph, was an advantage to religion. He was one of the authors of the T. Alfī. See Elliot V. 150. The Iqbāl-nāma adds some particulars, saying that M. Fūlād was of a Caghatai family, and that Mullā Aḥmad and he had a dispute in the house of Ḥakīm 'Abdul-Fath, and that the Mīrzā was wounded by the



the son of Khudādād Barlās. As the world lord exercises world-sway on the principle of "Universal Peace," every sect can assert its doctrine without apprehension, and every one can worship God after his own fashion. In consequence of this, Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta, who had undergone much toil in the acquisition of the ordinary sciences, and who was a firm adherent of the Imāmī doctrines, and talked largely about them, continually brought forward discourse about Sunnīs and Shiās, and from a despicable spirit used immoderate language. That hot-headed young man from his attachment to Sunnism regarded Mullā Aḥmad's doctrines with contempt. Owing to the turbulence of youth, he resolved to hunt for his life. On the night of 21 Dai, 31st December 1587, he and a companion lay in wait in a dark lane, and sent some man, as if a royal messenger, to call Mullā Aḥmad. On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off his arm from the middle of the forearm. He fell out of the saddle to the ground. The audacious villains thought they had cut his head off and without thinking<sup>1</sup> of the consequences came out by the lane. He took up his arm and conveyed himself to the house of Hakīm Ḥasan. Khawāja Mulk 'Alī<sup>2</sup> the night watch (*'asas*) by making a strict search apprehended the two delinquents. Though by certain indications, such as blood, the case was clear, yet, when he brought them to the palace, they did not tell the truth. And though the stains on the swords and the clothing were truthful witnesses, they did not admit their guilt. The Khān-Khānān, Āṣaf K.<sup>3</sup>, Khūdāwand K. and the writer were sent in order to make enquiries of that traveller to the world of annihilation. As he had some consciousness, he expressed the pain of his soul, and told what had happened. The just Shāhinshāh released the two evil-doers from the bonds of existence. He had them tied to the feet of an elephant and paraded through the city. Though leading persons<sup>4</sup> exerted themselves to procure their release, they

sword-tongue of Mullā Aḥmad. He sent a *piāda* in the dress of a royal *chobdār* to Aḥmad and lay in wait with a servant. His mother and other ladies interceded for him, but in vain.

<sup>1</sup> *Pai gam kanān*, lit. losing their feet, a phrase meaning that in doing

something the doers do not consider what the result will be. Vullers, I. 88a.

<sup>2</sup> B. 542.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently A. F.'s brother-in-law.

<sup>4</sup> Badayūnī says the ladies of the harem interceded for him.



were not successful. It was a cause of guidance to many who had gone astray, and the contest between Sunnī and Shīā subsided. Soon afterwards Mullā Aḥmad died of his injury.

About the same time a Brahman in the town of Sihondā<sup>1</sup> gave out that he was Rajah Bīrbar. He had been wounded, he said, and had then got away from the Yūsufzai by the help of a survivor, and was passing his days, according to his custom, in gathering the materials of salvation. Simple-minded persons, from the similarity of his appearance, and his abundant audacity, believed him. Though the acute persons of the court were agreed that the story was not true, yet discerning men were sent to inquire into the facts. The men of the locality were sending him to court, but before he arrived, and the veil over his shamelessness was removed, he took the road of annihilation. 528

On 10 Isfandārmaz, 20th February 1588, Qāsim K. arrived from the delightful country of Cashmere and was exalted by doing homage. 'Alī Sher Mākri and many other leading men of that country were admitted to an audience, and obtained the gratification of their wishes.

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 368 and 369, where Nagarkot is mentioned as the neighbourhood of the place of deception. The text has *سندا* Sanda, but the variant Sihonda *سهند* has the support of the B.M. MS. 236. Sihonda is in Kālinjar Sarkār. See Elliot Supp. Glossary II. 110, and J. II. 166 where we have Sindha, which only slightly differs from the

Sandha of text. Badayūnī reports that the impostor was first said to have been seen at Nagarkot and afterwards at Kālinjar, which was Bīr Bar's jāgīr. He also says that the Krorī put a poor, doomed traveller to death, pretending that he was Bīrbar, and then reported that he had died naturally.



## CHAPTER XCVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 33RD YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE  
YEAR ĀZAR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this auspicious time, the drum of the New Year rejoiced the age. The ever-vernal heart of the Shāhinshāh celebrated the event by a feast.

(*Verse*).

On Sunday 22 Rabī-ul-akhīr 996, 10 or 11 March, 1588, after the passing of 10 hours and 48 minutes, the spiritual and temporal Light-giver glorified the Sign of Aries. There was a new feast every day up to the day of culmination. In the beginning of this glorious year the marriage of Prince Sultān Daniel was celebrated. As marriage is a means of cultivating the garden of creation, and is the adornment of the social world, especially in a ruling family, H. M. arranged that an union should take place between the prince and the chaste daughter of Sultān Khwāja. An august feast was prepared, and crowds of men became possessed of joy. On 20 Khurdād, 30 May, 1588, the ceremony took place in the house of Miriām-Makānī.

(*Verse*).

Also on this day, the lunar weighment of H. M. took place, and mankind rejoiced.

One occurrence was the sending of troops to assist Šādiq K. When Zain K. took on himself the affairs of the plain of Swād, Šādiq was sent to Tīrāh. Shāham K. Jalair, Burhāna-l-Mulk, Khwājā  
**529** Faizī and others were sent off to join him. Also, an order was given that throughout the empire only the *gaz Ilāhī*<sup>1</sup> should be used.

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 61. "The standard *gaz* or yard of 41 fingers. After much controversy respecting its length, it was authoritatively declared by Government to be 33 inches long."

Elliot Supp. Glossary, II. 177 178.

In the *Aīn* A. F. speaks of the measure as having been introduced in the 31st year.



Some account of this has been given in the concluding volume (the *Ayīn* volume).

One occurrence was the birth of Sultan Rustam. On 4 *Shahrī-yūr* (August), after the lapse of 7 hours, a son was born to Sultan *Murād* by the daughter of the *Khān Ā'zim*. H.M. named him, and there were thanksgivings.

(*Verse.*)

According to both Greek and Hindu calculations, the horoscope was in *Scorpio*, but the degrees differed. I have not time to explain the (two) horoscopes, but I may say that this difference of degrees may have the purpose of checking too great joy or sorrow, and of preventing the breaking of the thread of circumspection.<sup>1</sup>

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of *Shahbāz K.* When *S'aīd K.* went from *Bihar* to *Bengal*, he came to court, and arrived on 2 *Mīhr*. He was not admitted to pay his respects and was censured. But when it appeared that when he was sent (to *Bengal*) an order had been given that whenever his mind was at ease about the country, he might come and do homage, he was granted an audience, and received royal favours. *Rajah Todar Mal* had some dispute with him. An order was given that the *Khān Khānān*, *'Azdu-d-daula*, *Hakīm Abul-fath*, and the author should enquire into the matter. On their doing so, it appeared that self-interest had thrown a veil over the eyes of both of them. By proper measures, the dust of contention was laid.

On the 19th H. M. went hunting, and in nine days careered about from *Pancgrāmī*<sup>2</sup> to *Qasūr*.<sup>3</sup> On the 27th, when he was to come to the city, an injury happened to him near *Cakgopāl*, 7 *kos* from *Lahore*, but it turned out well. He shot a wolf and it appeared to be dead. H. M. was examining it, when suddenly it seized his right foot, and his teeth penetrated. But H. M. struck him such a blow with his other foot that the wolf gave up his life. A little damage was done, but he soon recovered. On 1 *Ābān* the solar weighment took place. According to the annual custom he was weighed against

<sup>1</sup> The child died in November 1597. A. N. III. 735.

<sup>2</sup> J. II. 318. It was in the *Bārī Dūāb*.

<sup>3</sup> 34 miles S.-E. *Lahore*



twelve articles. There was a time of rejoicing, and the needy obtained their desires.

**530** One<sup>1</sup> of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion in Gujarat. Pan-Cānan<sup>2</sup> and Jaisa, brother's sons of Khangār, stirred up commotion in concert with Mihrāwan, the uncle of the Jām and Mozaffar Arghūn, and invested the town of Rādhanpūr. Rādhan K. Balūch and other brave men took steps to defend the place. Twice they made a night attack, and they also came out in the day-time, and fought strenuously. Saiyid Qāsim and other heroes were active in assistance. Soon it was bruited abroad that Mozaffar Gujarātī and the Kāithāns<sup>3</sup> (from Kāthiāwār) had risen. Khwājā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Khwājā Rafī', M'aaṣūm Bhakkarī and others followed them. Naurang K. hastened to Bīrāmgānw, where the rebels were. Qulīj K. stood firm in Aḥmadabad with a few men. By the divine aid, when the first army arrived within ten *kos*, the rebels dispersed. When the second force joined, they left their baggage and proceeded rapidly. They crossed the Runn, and plundered the homes of the rebels in the town of Kātārīh.<sup>4</sup> A great amount of booty was obtained. Bahamāra<sup>5</sup> (?) the ruler of that country submitted. The officers accepted his submission and proceeded to the town of Māliya. They crossed the dreadful Runn in another place. A remarkable thing is that the Runn increases (in water) on the 13th to the 15th (of the month), but by H. M.'s good fortune the water did not rise, and the troops crossed with ease. Though the rebels were not caught, yet the country was plundered, and a large quantity of booty was obtained. From there they went to Morbī, and on the way much of the cultivated land was plundered, and strong stockades (*sangarhā*) were taken. When the victorious troops came near Morbī the proprietors came out and surrendered. Wazīr K. had in his time given the place to Khangār, and the Khān-Khānān left him in possession.

One occurrence was the death of Baharjī. His territory is a cultivated country, and a dependency of Gujarat. Its name is Bag-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Elliot V. 445.

<sup>2</sup> I.O. MS. 236 has Bajāīn, which is also the name in the T. A.

<sup>3</sup> The Kāthīs of I. G. XV. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Katārīa. Elliot V. 446 and the

Kather or Kankar of J. II. 258. Perhaps the Kirkanagar of Bayley's Map. The places are in Cutch.

<sup>5</sup> Bahāra in I.O. MS. 236.



lāna,<sup>1</sup> and the ruler is called Baharjī. His brothers wickedly made a commotion, and he took refuge in the strong fort of Mūler. As he had bound the burden of service on the shoulder of loyalty, Āltūn<sup>2</sup> Qulij, Khwājah Rafī' and others went to help him. Before they arrived, he had been got rid of by enemies in the disguise of friends. The wiles of the evil-doers misled the relieving force and retribution was not exacted, though it was prepared (?).

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One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion in Gujarāt.<sup>3</sup> Fath K., the younger son of Amīn K. Ghorī, made war on his father, and thereby disgraced his family. Moẓaffar also joined with him and stirred up the dust of strife. Amīn K. did not see in himself the power to control, and so retired. He wrote a supplicating letter to the imperial servants and asked for help. Naurang K., Khwāja Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, Medinī Rai, M'aasūm Bhakkarī, Qāzī Husaīn, Kāmrān Beg, Daulat K. and some of the Saiyids of Bārha hastened to assist him. Moẓaffar retired to the hills, thinking that perhaps the country would be taken from him, and the son became reconciled to the father. Sīdhī Rihān, Lokhan, Karhal and many others waited on the officers.

At the request of Amīn K. and the Jām, Medinī Rai went and brought the sons of them both. All at once the disturbance ceased. Also at this time Ism'aīl Qulī was sent to Gujarat, and an order was given that Qulij should return to court.

An occurrence was the dispersal of the Tārīkīs. It has been mentioned that Ṣādiq had been appointed to overthrow them in Tīrāh. Shāham and others had been appointed afterwards. When the army had been collected, he went to the spot. He did not think it advisable to enter the defiles, but appointed men to watch on every side. Shāh Beg built a fort in the village of Bāra (S. W. Peshāwar); Aḥmad Beg and Muḥ Qulī remained on guard in Maīdan (W. Tīrāh). Shāham Jalāir, Alī Muḥ. Alif and others served in Janakī (?).<sup>4</sup> In this manner able men were appointed in various places. The warriors opened the hand of attack, and thus remedied the scarcity

<sup>1</sup> Bāgdān of I. G. VI. 190.

<sup>2</sup> B. 500. He held a command of 300. Āltūn means gold in Turkī.

<sup>3</sup> This comes so soon after the paragraph at the beginning of p. 530

that it looks as if in the latter place A. F. wrote or meant to write Kach instead of Gujarat.

<sup>4</sup> Jangal W. Kohat?



of provisions. Šādiq K. opened the tongue of conciliation, and the hand of liberality, and he made the Afrīdi and Ūrakzai tribes—which are the homes of the Tārīkīs—obedient. The spring crops of the landowners came into the hands of the soldiery, and they could not sow the autumn crops. Mullā Ibrāhīm, whose son Jalāla reckoned himself to be, was caught. The position of the wretch became difficult, and he had no longer confidence in his comrades. Every day he went about with his family (*qabīla*) and fell into a hundred troubles. At last he went off to Tūrān by the route of Kānīgaram (S.-W. Bannū). On 24 Mihr (about 4th October, 1588) the Afghans delivered up his family, and the minds of the imperial servants were somewhat quieted. The Afrīdis and the Urakzai in addition to doing good service gave hostages and undertook the preserving of peace in the Khaibar. The army enjoyed itself and returned.

532

An occurrence was the conquest of Swāt. When Zain Koka came to Bajaur, he established forts in some places, and the ill-fated ones withdrew to the defiles. They came out at night and carried off the grain. The Koka arranged that a body of men should wait in every ravine from the beginning of night, and should lie in wait on the skirt of the hill. At midnight some others were sent. When the Afghans came down from the tops of the hills, and were taking the crops, the two forces came from in front and from behind, and chastised them. The fighting went on for eight months, and many were killed. Of necessity, the survivors took the burden of submission upon their shoulders. The Kokaltāsh showed a design to take Swāt. He brought before himself Jagannāth and Āṣaf K. who were in the plains, and proceeded to that district. First, he established a strong fort on the banks of the river Pajkorah (Panjakora) which is the beginning of the entry into the country. The Yūsufzai had collected stones on the roads and were prepared to fight. By the wonders of Fortune, they went by a secret<sup>1</sup> road. On 9 Ābīn (19th October, 1588) when the enemy were busy holding the Qūrbān-feast,<sup>2</sup> the victorious troops entered the pleasant country of Swāt. The bewildered Afghans returned, though some bravely gave their lives.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the meaning is that they passed without being observed, as the Afghans were engaged in feasting.

<sup>2</sup> The Qurbān 'Īd is held on 10 Zī-l ḥajja, the last month of the Muhammadan year. In 996 this corresponded to 21 October, 1588.



Much booty was obtained. The wretches were divided into two parties. Some made a stockade on the hill of Batkhari (?), and some did so in the hill country of Mahra (?). The Koka pursued, and erected forts in Chakdara<sup>1</sup> and Malakand, etc. He built a fort on the plain near a hill at Sarobī (?). He left capable men at various places. The roads became safe and hill and plain were united. Traders came from every side and things became cheap. At this time Muḥammad Baḥrī<sup>2</sup> and Malik Aṣghar came from the mountain of Mahra by the route of Sherkhāna to the plain, and invested the fort of Sarobī. Many had gone from there towards Jalālābād, in order that they might convey the caravan. Ḥamīd K. came out with a few men and fell bravely. The sons of S'aid K. had not the courage to come and help him, but by the excellence of destiny<sup>3</sup> the enemy was not able to take the fort. They left what they had collected and fled. As there did not remain much work in Swāt, Aṣaf K. got leave to go to court. He went off post from Malakand. Some servants were coming after him. Suddenly they beat high their drums, and terror seized the enemy, and they fled, after flinging away many of their goods. Afterwards Abu-l-Qāsim Tamkīn and Sher K. were left on guard there, and the work was properly done.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of Kālū K.<sup>4</sup> He is the wicked man who absconded after receiving so many favours **533** from the Shāhinshāh. He chose the companionship of the turbulent. The Afghans of Damghār (?) chose him for their leader and went off to the hill of Mahra with the idea that something might be done. When the Kokaltāsh heard of this, he made a night march. The vanguard beat their drums, and the Afghans dispersed. Though the wretch himself escaped, yet more than seventy men were killed. Also at this time Muḥammad Baḥrī and Malik Aṣghar fell upon Sarobī. Mīr Abu-l-Qāsim came out to fight, and Sher K. who had been at Ghanjī (?), appeared at the time of the fighting. Nearly 400

<sup>1</sup> Famous for its defence in the campaign of 1897-98. The Batkhari of text may be the Batkhala of Fin-castle's map.

<sup>2</sup> Lanjarī in variant and I.O. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently this refers to what follows. Aṣaf K.'s servants were

coming after him, and the beating of their drums made the besiegers fly.

<sup>4</sup> He was a Yūsufzai, and had surrendered: see p. 495, where he is called Kālū Sultān. He was afterwards caught and imprisoned. See p. 559.



Afghans were killed, and the power of the villains was somewhat broken.

One occurrence was the submission of Rajah Rūdar, the ruler of the Kumāon hills. He is one of the great landholders of India. Though on account of the strength of his country, and his listening to the stories of his ancestors, he had not come to court, yet he used to exhibit deference and send presents. At this time, when Mathurā Dās Sahakal went to the Collectorate of Bareilly, he had an interview with him (Rūdar) and suggested an union of concord, and endeavoured to induce him to come to court. He replied that he had long cherished such a wish, but he had no proof that he would attain such a blessing by his (Mathura's) protection. If Rajah Todar Mal would take charge of him, he would come. The Rajah sent his son Kalyān Dās to reassure him, in reliance on him he came and paid his respects. On 9 Āzar he obtained this felicity.<sup>1</sup>

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Yūsufzai. They were much disturbed by the fort which had been founded on the top of the ravine, and were lying in wait to attack it. Now they united with the men of Mahra and attacked it. There was a hot engagement from dawn till evening. The broken nature of the ground and the height of the hill made the contest a long one. At last the breeze of victory blew, and many of the evil-minded ones were killed. In a short time the fort was completed and was a means of keeping the refractory in check.

One of the occurrences was a great act of liberality on the part of the Shāhins̄hāh. Owing to civilisation and justice there was a great cheapness of articles so that it was difficult for the peasantry in some provinces to pay the revenue. Accordingly in the spring instalment for the provinces of Agra and Delhi a deduction of one-sixth was made, and for the autumn instalment a deduction was made of one in 4½ and in Agra, Oudh, and Delhi of one-fourth. In the  
**534** exchequer lands this came to 19 krors, 32 lakhs, 80,175 dāms. From this an estimate can be made of the amount of the reduction in the fiefs. Also, at this time, Zain Koka did homage. When Swāt and Bajaur had been in some measure settled, the Kokaltāsh was summoned to court, and an order given to Šādiq to hasten there

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe, 377.



(Bajaur) and reduce to obedience the remainder of the refractory to obedience. On 15 Bahman the Kokaltāsh arrived at court.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance caused by Ṣāliḥ. When Wazīr died, Shahbāz made over the subordinates to Ṣāliḥ who was Wazīr's son. He did not know that in matters of chiefship and generalship, relationship and the good deeds of ancestors are of no avail. They cannot be accepted in the absence of discretion, capacity, etc. When Shahbāz K. went to pay his respects, the wicked Ṣāliḥ, owing to bad associates and the keenness of his desires, imbibed crooked thoughts, and was waiting to make a disturbance. Before the veil of his reputation was rent, an order was issued. Mīr Murād, who had gone as *sazāwal* of the Amīrs of Bihār and Bengal, enlisted every one of Wazīr K.'s soldiers who was willing to serve the Amīrs of these provinces, and brought the others along with the son to court. Ṣāliḥ made difficulties about going, but as Mīr Murād knew his business, they were of no use. Willing or unwilling, he had to set out. Every day he was looking for an opportunity, and his ideas of making a disturbance were gaining force. Mīr Murād wrote letters to all the fiefholders of the country, and made proper arrangements. Owing to the number of the Shāhinshāh's adherents, every wile that Ṣāliḥ thought of came to nought. As he always practised feline tricks and used cajolery, the local officers quarrelled among themselves and (Mīr Murād?) did not arrest him (Ṣāliḥ). But out of prudence they (he?) put men along with him. When Ṣāliḥ came to Jaunpūr, he deceived the Rajah's son <sup>1</sup> and so from simplicity and bribery the latter did not send any one with him. The Mīr was obliged to go on, and Khwājah Khalīl <sup>2</sup> had the good feeling to separate from Ṣāliḥ and to join (the Mīr). Meanwhile the base fellow (Ṣāliḥ) lavished gold, and collected fly-like men. He got together a number of musketeers. Khān Kamāl and Bahaī K.—two wicked Afghans—joined him with many others. Near Fathpūr Hanswa <sup>3</sup> he marched to the Mīr's quarters with an army of rascals. The Mīr used foresight, and entered the fort of Fathpūr Hanswa. The hare-brained fellow besieged him there, and also set about plundering. He made shelters out of cattle-

<sup>1</sup> This was Dhārū (Iqbāl-nāma).

<sup>2</sup> Wazīr's Vakīl (Iqbāl-nāma).

<sup>3</sup> The Fathpūr Haswā of Elliott.

It is 70 m. N. W. Allahabad. It was in Sarkār Karra (Corah). J. II. 168.



hides and arranged ladders, and set fire to the town, and plundered it. He was nearly taking the fort. Suddenly, the fief-holders of the country-side heard of this commotion and arrived there. The first of all to come was Allah Bakhsh Maral, and he brought a good contingent. When the Rājah's son knew about the misconduct, he sent off Allah Bakhsh from Jaunpūr, and felt ashamed of what he had done. When able men arrived, the scheme of the rebels failed. Sāliḥ was bound and taken to court. S. Ibrahim sent him with his own men. On 20 Bahman he was brought before H.M. whose kindness sent to prison one who was worthy of death. On 1 Isfandārmaz (11 February 1589) H.M. distinguished the writer's brother S. Abu-l-faiḻ faizī—who was my elder in years and in knowledge—by the title of Malikush-sh'arā (king of poets). Assuredly he is unique in all departments of poetry. He writes delightfully in Persian and in Arabic, and scatters pearls without stint. By the strength of his genius he composes works of art (*ḥikmatnāmhā*) and civilizes the age by his talents. Two or three days before this he extemporised an ode. These are some lines of it.

*Verse.*

On that day when he was bounteous <sup>1</sup> to all  
He made me the king of words.  
He altogether snatched me away  
That he might complete the work of speech.  
For the sake of exalting my genius  
He made me the ornament of the seven heavens.

One of the occurrences was that Indar Brahman obtained leave to go to the desert of deliverance (from the social state). He was one of the eloquent men of the august court, and was importunate in expressing his desire to sever the thread of association. It passed from the truth-speaking lips of Akhbar." "If <sup>2</sup> his heart have become disgusted with this variegated and soul-deceiving condition, it would not be proper to restrain such a free spirit, and if his idea be to get a higher rank, then he will have his retribution by his leave being granted." In a short time *his* coin was tested, but the graciousness

<sup>1</sup> Faiz, a play upon Faizī's name. The phrase *Haft Bām* in the last line may refer to Faizī's poem the *Haft Kishwar* which was in imitation of Nizāmi's *Haft Paikār*.

<sup>2</sup> See a similar passage in the sayings of Akbar. J. III. 387.



of the Shāhinshāh sewed up the veil over his honour. I was somewhat pleased with this charming discourse, and sate at the door of hope. May he test my troubled soul, and by a holy order bring my long-cherished wish to pass! And before this faithless world display her coquetries and blandishments, or the journeying to the land of oblivion take place, may I, with an open brow abandon (lit. set the back of my foot upon) this wretched old woman (the world), and lie released from the spectacle of human shapes who are worshippers of externals. As by serving the State, wisdom's cord has been cut, and I have become acquainted somewhat with the cajolery of my household foe (the carnal spirit), may I be delivered from the stain of formalism, and live free for a while! If some breaths of life be accorded to me, may I spend them in rebuking carnality, and use my judgment in self-improvement, and acquire good ways. Having gained my freedom may I rejoice in the ever-verdant garden of wishlessness! 536

If I cannot reach this height, I hope that the lees which remain in the cup of my existence may not like the clear wine of former days, be put into the jar of oblivion, or poured on the dust of trifling.

*Verse.*

I hope that Thou who acceptest a rain-drop  
Wilt give a favourable reception to my tears.





## CHAPTER XCVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 34TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR  
DAI OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

On the eve of Tuesday, 4 Jamāda-ul-awal 997, 10 or 11 March 1589, after four hours and thirty-six minutes, the brightener of the world's face entered Aries. The beginning of the tenth year of the third cycle brought the news of eternal dominion. H.M., according to the yearly custom, held a feast every day till the culmination, and crowds of men obtained their wishes.

(Verse).

In the beginning of this auspicious year a daughter was born to Prince Sulṭān Selīm. It was on the 28th (Farwardīn, 6 April, 1589) that the daughter of S'aīd K. obtained this great blessing. Contrary to the custom of contemporaries, it was made an occasion of rejoicing. H.M. gave the child the name of 'Affat Bānū<sup>1</sup> (the modest lady). At this time Muḥibb<sup>2</sup> 'Alī came from Rohtās, and did homage. For a long time H.M. had desired that he should have the blessing of coming to the Presence. Accordingly his fief was given to Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and Multan was given to him as jāgīr. When the order was conveyed to him, he gladly set his face towards the threshold. He had the blessing on 14 Ardibihisht, and received varied favours. On the 15th do., 26 April<sup>3</sup> 1589, Mīyān Tānsen died, and by H.M.'s orders, all the musicians and singers accompanied his body to the grave, making melodies as at a marriage. The joy of the Age was overcast, and H.M. said that his death was the annihilation of  
**537** melody. It seems that, in a thousand years, few have equalled him for sweetness and art!

<sup>1</sup> Her death is not mentioned in the A. N., but in Price's Jahangir, 20, it is stated that she died at the age of three.

<sup>2</sup> This is Muḥibb Rohtāsī. B. 422.

<sup>3</sup> B. 612 and Archael. Reports (Cunningham), article Gwaliyar.



## CHAPTER XCVIII.

## EXPEDITION OF AKBAR TO THE DELIGHTFUL COUNTRY OF KASHMĪR.

The world's lord keeps his eyes open for wonders and regards the old world as a fresh ornament of the Creator. He does not fix his heart to one place, and gathers new affluence from every quarter. But he brings a profound vision to bear on the subject, and mingles knowledge with action. His heart is especially drawn to any place where there is the wondrous work of destiny. Hence he always bore Kashmīr in mind. He kept before his eyes its delightful climate, and when the Incomparable Deity included that charming land within his empire, his wish to traverse it became stronger. Though the eloquent talkers of the sublime banquets deprecated the sovereign's going to such a distance, and putting himself in a corner, these representations were of no avail. He said that God, the author of desires, had implanted in him an irresistible wish, and that Jinnat Āshīyanī (Humayūn) had had the same longing. "Our going thither is, apparently, the fulfilling of his honoured desires."

Accordingly, on the eve of the 16th (Ardibihisht)<sup>1</sup> after the passing of 2 h. 48 m. he crossed the Rāvi, and encamped near the serai of Mādhū Singh. He had travelled one *kos* and 12 bambu-lengths.<sup>2</sup> Three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners, and splitters of rocks, and 2000 bēldārs (diggers) were sent off under Qāsim K. that they might level the ups and downs of the road. At this stage H. M. gave Sialkot in fief to Zain Koka. Sarkār Sambal became the jāgīr of Qulij Khān. Multan was given to Muhibb 'Alī K. Shāhbāz K. was made the Provost Marshal of the Camp (*Kotwal-i-Urdū*). Raja Bhagwant Dās, Rajah Todar Mal and Qulij K. were left in Lahore in order that everything might be carried on with their approval.

<sup>1</sup> The T. A. Elliott V. 457 says he started on 22 Jumāda-s-Ṣānī 999 (28 April).

<sup>2</sup> Four hundred bambus made a

*kos*, each being 12½ gaz. Taking the gaz as 33 inches, each bambu-length was about eleven yards.



On the 20th he travelled 2 *kos* 50 poles, and encamped near Shāhdara.<sup>1</sup> On the 4th (Khurdād) he travelled 4 *kos* 41 poles, and encamped near the village of Jorā.<sup>2</sup> After one day's halt he marched  $3\frac{1}{4}$  *kos* 72 poles, and alighted near Aminābād. On this day the Rajah of Radaur<sup>3</sup> obtained leave to go to his home, and was presented with a choice khilat and 101 horses. His fief was increased by some parganas. After an interval of one day he marched  $4\frac{1}{4}$  *kos* and encamped in the territory of Sitarām.<sup>4</sup> At dawn he marched  $4\frac{3}{4}$  *kos* 35 poles, 538 and halted at Talwandī.<sup>5</sup> Then after one day he passed Sūdhira<sup>6</sup> and encamped on the bank of the Cināb. It was a march of 6 *kos* 41 poles. On this day the festival of the lunar weighment increased joy. That personality which was equal to the sky in majesty was weighed against eight articles, and the world rejoiced. On the 31st he crossed the river<sup>7</sup> and an order was given that the troops should cross by a bridge, watch by watch, company by company (*Caukī ba Cauki ū qushūn qushūn*). The march was  $1\frac{1}{4}$  *kos* 51 poles. After two days he reached Gūnācor,<sup>8</sup> a dependency of Sīālkot. The march was 4 *kos* 5 bambus. There it was represented to him that Allah Bardī, the agent of Ṣādīq, and Shiqdār of Tīha<sup>9</sup> Hanū and Rāij had opened the hand of oppression, and was dishonouring the weak. An order was given that 'Azdu-d-daula, Shahbāz and Qāsim Beg<sup>10</sup> Mīr 'Adil should sit in judgment on him. Soon, his injustice was made

<sup>1</sup> Six miles from Lahore, west bank Rāvī. It contains Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān's tombs. A. F. plays on the word Shāhdara saying *nazidīk Shāhdara shādrawān-i-'izzat barafrāshand*. "He neared the mansion of honour near Shāhdāra."

<sup>2</sup> Corā or Caurī in I.O. MS. 326, but perhaps the *rā* is a case ending and the name is Jau or Cau. It may be the Juāhir-pul of the Indian Atlas, which seems to correspond to Shāh Daulapul on the Deeg river, 22 miles N. Lahore. See the India of Aurangzīb by Jadu N. Sarkār, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rūdar in text, but there is the variant Radar. The place meant is Radaur in the Ambāla district, 40 m.

S. E. Ambala. I. G. XI. 341, old ed. See also Rieu's Pers. Cat. I. 302b. It is not mentioned in the new edition I. G.

<sup>4</sup> Sahasrām in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>5</sup> J. II. 320.

<sup>6</sup> The Sūdhara of J. II. 321.

<sup>7</sup> The text omits the words "by boat," but they occur in the variant and in T. O. MS. 236.

<sup>8</sup> Variant Kolājor, but Gūnācor is right. It lies S. E. Jālindhar and is the place where Bairām was defeated. See B. 317 n. and 619.

<sup>9</sup> I. O. MSS. have Tuba Janū?

<sup>10</sup> It is Khān in text, but I.O. MSS. have Beg. See B. 517 and 541. He was an Arabic scholar.



manifest, and he received the reward of his deeds. Though his life came to an end, his death was a cause of life to others. Next day H. M. marched  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos 51 bambus and encamped at Dīkrī, a dependency of Sīalkot. After two days he marched  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos 60 bambus and halted at Jaipūr<sup>1</sup> Kherī, a village of Bhimbar. On 9th Khurdād (19th May 1589) he went with a few attendants to see the pass of Bhimbar which Kashmīrīs call Kājīwār,<sup>2</sup> and other hill men, Adī Dat.<sup>3</sup> He enjoyed being on the top of it. Suddenly it occurred to him that he would go on alone (*jarīda*), (*i.e.* comparatively unattended). Sultan Murād was sent off to take charge of the ladies in the camp, and to keep order in the army. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was left in the Pass to prevent any but certain persons who were named, from following. Then he went on horseback and traversed heights and hollows, partly riding and partly on foot. At midday he rested for a while under a tree. There were with him the Khān-Khānān, Zain Koka, ‘Aẓdu-d-daula, Ḥakīm Abul Fath, Jagannāth, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Qāzī Ḥasan, Nūr Qulij, Rām Dās, the writer, and some young cavaliers (*īkkā jūānān*).<sup>4</sup>

On this day he gave weighty counsels to Burhānu-l-Mulk at the entrance of the pass, and sent him to conquer the Deccan. As in the time of his elder brother Murtaẓa Nizāmu-l-Mulk, the peasantry and soldiers enjoyed some repose, and though he was melancholy and a recluse, yet he kept strong the thread of justice, H. M. did not send Burhānu-l-Mulk—who had taken protection at his court—with an army to that country. When he died, and news came of the disturbances in the Deccan, he recalled<sup>5</sup> Burhān from the Tīrāh

<sup>1</sup> Jyepore of the maps, S. Bhimbar.

<sup>2</sup> Text Kājīwār, but variant adār seems right. It is the Kashmīr gates of Tiefenthaler I. 79. See Elliot V. 457 N. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Adidak of Bates' gazetteer 6 miles N. Bhimbar, the Aditak of the maps.

<sup>4</sup> Of Qazwīn. B. 498.

<sup>5</sup> Ferishta informs us that Akbar had given Burhān estates in Ban-gash.

There is a full account of Ṣalābat K. in Ferishta's history of the Aḥmadnagar dynasty in the chapter dealing with Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh, p. 139, etc., of Newalkishore's edition. He was sent by Tahmāsp, the king of Persia, to Burhān Nizām Shāh I. Ferishta gives him a very fine character and says that he himself was one of those who tried in vain to dissuade him from obeying his insane king and voluntarily putting chains on his feet and going to prison. The



army with the intention of sending him (to the Deccan). The events  
 539 of that country are as follows: Shāh Tāhmāsp, the ruler of Irān,  
 had sent Shāh Quli Gurjī (Georgian?) with presents; and he had  
 attained influence in the Deccan, and received the title of Ṣalābat K.  
 For the space of twelve years that Nizāmu-l-Mulk was in seclusion  
 on account of melancholy, the financial and political affairs of  
 the country were conducted by Ṣalābat. As the ruler had not wis-  
 dom, and did not give audiences, there arose a disturbance. Owing  
 to the power of insanity, that man of disturbed brain wrote to out-  
 siders that they should confine Ṣalābat in a certain fort. That excel-  
 lent servant heard of this and betook himself to that fort. Though  
 leading men represented that he should not imprison himself at the  
 word of so insensate a person, it was of no avail. He said he could  
 not depart from his master's order. Afterwards an unchaste woman  
 obtained influence over the madman, and her brother Ism'aīl laid  
 hold of the administration. By his help, M. Khān Sabzwārī  
 obtained influence, and he brought the madman's son out of the  
 fortress of Daulatabad and raised him to power. He (the son) put  
 the madman to death. Soon, the dust of dissension arose between  
 them, and each tried to injure the other. At last, Mīrzā K. got his  
 opportunity and shut him (the son) up in Aḥmadnagar, and raised  
Ism'aīl S. Burhānu-l-Mulk to the supremacy. Ism'aīl K. Deccāni  
 collected men and besieged the Aḥmadnagar fort. The wretch  
 (Mīrzā K.) cut off the head of his prisoner (Mīrān Ḥusain the parricide)  
 and flung it out, thinking that thereupon the son's well-wishers would  
 withdraw. But they became more eager, and broke into the fort.  
Mīrzā K. came out secretly and fled, but was caught on the road and

unchaste woman referred to in the text is a dancing girl named Fath Shāh who, Ferishta says, was both beautiful and clever and could play chess well. Murtaṣa Nizām was put to death by his own son Mīrān Ḥusain, but it must be said that the madman had deliberately tried to burn his son. Murtaṣa was killed on 17 Rajab 996, 2nd June 1588; his son only reigned 2 months 3 days. A. F. does not tell the whole truth

when he says that Akbar did not interfere so long as Murtaṣa Nizām was alive. He sent the Khān Ā'ẓim to conquer the country, but he failed. Burhān had two sons, and when he fled the country Ṣalābat kept them in custody. Ibrāhīm was the eldest, but as his mother was an Abyssinian, he was black. His younger brother Ism'aīl was raised to the throne. He was only twelve years old. Afterwards his father obtained the throne.



put to death. Ism'aīl was raised to power, and he,<sup>1</sup> out of revenge hunted for the lives of the Irānīāns and Tūrañīāns, and 3000 innocent persons were put to death. When H. M. was going to Kashmīr, Burhān came from Tīrāh and H. M. sent him off to the Deccan. An order was given to the Khān Ā'zim, the general of Mālwa, to Rajah 'Ālī, the ruler of Khandesh, and the officers, that they should get together a choice army and exert themselves so that Burhān might soon be successful.

When the temperature moderated, he resumed his progress (lit. mounted his bay horse), and traversed the defile between the Serai Jogī and Naushahra, which is called Ghātī Badū.<sup>2</sup> At one watch of the night he halted after travelling  $13\frac{1}{4}$  kos. Some rulers of Kashmīr used to fortify the first pass, when they had wars with the rulers of India, but most of them fortified this one. Few were able to keep up with H. M. on this march, which was full of heights and hollows. Next morning the ravine of Ghāzīkot between Naushahra and Serai Cingīz was traversed with difficulty. After passing Rajaurī, H. M. halted at the tents of Qāsim K. who was proceeding with the work of making the road clear and level. The march was 8 kos 9 poles. As several roads led from this place, and each was full of snow, experienced men were sent off to make enquiries, and a council was held. It appeared that the best route for a large army was by the defile of the Hastī Watar. As it was difficult of passage on account of the large amount of snow and rain, H. M. chose the Pīr Panjāl route. 540 The eldest prince (Jahāngīr) was ordered to go back to the camp, and to bring on Sultān Khhusrū and some of the ladies.<sup>3</sup> As M. Kaiqabād, the son of M. Hakīm, had fallen ill, he was left at this stage and the Maliku-l-Sh'āra S. Faizī<sup>4</sup> was appointed to attend on him. After two

<sup>1</sup> It was really Jamāl K. who did this.

<sup>2</sup> Badū is a name of King Zainu-l-'ābadīn, and is apparently the Kashmīrī Bar Shāh. See Drew's Jummoo 17. It means: "The great King." Text Jogī, but the variant Cingīz is supported by I. O. MSS. and by Tieffenthaler I. 87. It is the Chingas Serai of Bates and is about half-way

between Naushahra and Rajaurī. It is on r. bank Tavi.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently most of the ladies stayed at Bhimbhar and eventually went to Rohtās, without entering Kashmīr, and finally joined Akbar at Atak.

<sup>4</sup> Faizī was a doctor as well as a poet.



days H. M. went on from Rajaurī and marched  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos 19 poles. The camp was near Lāhā, a dependency of Rajaurī. Next day he marched  $1\frac{3}{4}$  kos and reposed near Thāna.<sup>1</sup> This village is at the foot of the defile of Ratan Panjāl. At this place the Kashmīrī language begins. H. M. remarked, countries are divided from one another by hills, rivers, deserts, and language. For the first (three) of these Bhimbhar is the boundary of Kashmīr, and for the last, this station is. Though the cavalier of fortune's plain was unattended, the Divine glory (*far izzdī*) was radiating from the august forehead, and wherever he went, crowds of men and women offered up thousands of supplications. Every one of them brought vows of long standing before him, and reaped eternal bliss. At this place the Nayīks who were the guardians of the passes on this route did homage under the leadership of Bahrām Nayīk. Muḥammad Bhat and a number of Kashmīr leaders were exalted by obtaining an audience. Next day he set his face to the defile. First, he crossed the Ratan<sup>2</sup> Panjā pass, which is high as heaven, and arrived at Bahramgalla. The march was  $2\frac{3}{4}$  kos 5 poles. It is a delightful place, and has few equals for climate and for variety of flowers. The special bay horse<sup>3</sup> which was brought into the pass (*kotal*) slipped, and no trace could be found of it. Many climbed the pass on foot. On this day there was a disturbance among the special cooks, and the writer was appointed,<sup>4</sup> in addition to his other duties, to look after them. On the way M. Yūsuf K. came from Kashmīr (Srīnagar) and did homage. A large number of the chief men of the country had the blessing of a reception. Next day the august retinue advanced 2 kos 55 poles, and encamped at Pūshīāna. There were wonderful hills clothed with forests, and numerous flowers and fountains gladdened the heart. Many bridges are placed over the streams

<sup>1</sup> It is Thāna in the Iqbāl-nāma, and is the Thana Mandī of Bates. It is 14 miles N. Rajaurī.

<sup>2</sup> The pass is five miles N. E. Thāna, and is the Ratan Pīr of Stein II. 398 and the Ruttan Pīr of Bates. It is 8,200 ft. high. Bahramgalla is the old Bhairavagali. The text has Bai-ramkala.

<sup>3</sup> *Gulfām khaṣagī*. Perhaps *gul-fām* was the name of the horse. See B. 134. There were six stables of *Khāṣgī* horses. Apparently this horse disappeared over the *khad*.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently A. F. was made Mīr Bakāwal. See B. 56.



and are called *kadal*<sup>1</sup> in the Kashmīrī tongue. As the station (*manzil*) was filled with snow for more than two *kos*, H. M.'s fellow-travellers were much frightened, but the encouragements of H. M. soothed them somewhat. As it is the custom for pedestrians, when going over the snow, to use shoes woven out of ropes of rice-straw, most provided themselves therewith, but this was a thing which H. M. did not approve of. Next day the Pīr Panjāl pass was crossed, and the standards of victory were pitched in the village of Dūnd near the pass of Nātī<sup>2</sup> Barārī. The march was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *kos* 20 poles. The walking was over snow. Shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the natives of India? Or shall I describe the height of the pass, or 541 speak of the narrowness of the path, or of the heights and hollows of this stage? Or shall I write of the fountains, the trees, the flowers? While crossing, it snowed and hailed. By the blessing of H. M.'s personality, no harm ensued. When the station was reached, it snowed heavily for an hour. Every one of those who were coming behind, and who on that day showed foresight and turned back, arrived at a comfortable place. Some inexperienced persons who went on rapidly lost their lives on account of the snow and rain.

It is commonly reported by the inhabitants, high and low, of this country that ancient sages have thrown spells (*tilisma*) on these two roads<sup>3</sup> so that whenever a large army passes by there, or a horse or bullock be killed, or a drum beaten, black clouds soon gather and rain and snow pour down. Whenever an army passed by this route, the statement was confirmed. As the ladies had been sent for, and the difficulty of the road had been impressed on H. M.'s mind, an order was issued that the officers who were in attendance on H. M. should station experienced men at each stage, and that every stage between Bhimbhar and Hīrapūr should be assigned to one of the officers, so that tents, fuel, forage and food should be in readiness,

<sup>1</sup> This is still the Kashmīrī word for bridge.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Tārī in I. O. M.S. 236. Dūnd is not marked in the maps. It must be near A'liābād Sarai.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the Pīr Panjāl and

Hastī Watar routes. Cf. J. II. 348 and N. 1. Perhaps the meaning is that the spell was laid where the two routes join near Ālīābād Seraia. Jahāngīr, Price, 82, says he had never seen anything to confirm the story about the spell.



and that the ladies should not suffer any inconvenience. Next day H. M. traversed Nārī Barārī,<sup>1</sup> which is the most difficult of all the ranges (*girīwahā*), and reposed in Hīrapūr.<sup>2</sup> The distance was  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos. Forty-four bridges were crossed. M. Yūsuf K. had arranged tents, etc. here. The difficulties of the hills between this place and Bhimbhar had now been overcome and were forgotten. To speak briefly, from Bhimbhar to Hīrapūr there is a continuous range of hills which for narrowness and difficulty, and for ascents and descents, is unrivalled. The groves, the blossoming flowers, the glorious air, the melody of the waterfalls, increased astonishment from time to time; and removed from the heart the troubles of the journey. But when we on this day passed from the hills to the plain, there was a splendid spectacle. A new world appeared, and a new paradise withdrew the veil from her countenance. Commonplace people who looked only to secondary causes forgot altogether the toils of the way, and the pious and profound entered upon new delight. Crowds of men, consisting of God-seeking ascetics, learned persons, skilled craftsmen, and magical musicians, came from the capital, and were gratified by princely favours. On this day the Khān-Khānān was sent off in order that he might attend the Prince, and assist him in bringing on the secluded ladies. Also at this stage M. Kaiqabād and the Maliku-sh-sh'ara S. Faiẓī arrived and performed the prostration.

542 After one day 2 kos 79 poles were traversed and H. M. halted at Dewar<sup>3</sup> (?).

At the end of the day a cloud settled on the face of joy! While H.M. was looking for the arrival of the ladies, the Prince Royal arrived alone and reported that on account of the difficulties of the road it was not fitting that the ladies should be brought, and that he had left them at Naushahra.<sup>4</sup> As there had been no order to this

<sup>1</sup> Variant Tārī Barārī. The name is not marked on the maps. The Iqbāl-nāma has only the word Barārī. The highest point on the route from Bhimbhar to Srinagar is the Pīr Panjāl which is 11,400 ft. high. Stein II. 394. The proper spelling is Pīr Pantsāl.

<sup>2</sup> Properly Hīrapūr, the ancient Sūrapūra. See Stein and Bates.

<sup>3</sup> Probably this is the Degrāma of Stein's map and J.A.B.S. paper, p. 186. The name seems to be Depār in I. O. MS. 236. See Stein, II. 472. Degrāma is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Supiyan.

<sup>4</sup> That is, he had brought them from Bhimbhar as far as Naushahra and then left them.



effect, the prince was not allowed to pay his respects, and an order of censure was sent to the Khān Khānān. "If the prince, owing to his evil propensities, behaved in this way, why did you allow him to exhibit such audacity?"

In his wrath, H. M. ordered, in the midst of the rain, and of the slipperiness of the ridges, that his horse should be brought. His whole thought was that he would go in person and bring the ladies. He took with him Jagannāth, Rām Dās, Naqīb K. and some Aḥadīs. Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath and the writer were left in charge of the camp. An order was given that no one except the persons above mentioned should accompany H. M. He travelled that day up to evening and reached Hīrapūr. I was nearly losing my senses, and the dress of society was falling from my shoulders.<sup>1</sup> By God's help the ebullition of my disposition did not prevail over my reason and discretion. The whole confusion was caused by thinking why at such a time should the Shāhinshāh of the Universe become so angry. And why did he take upon himself this task which could be accomplished by an inferior servant? Why did he not accept the truthful speaking of his loyal servants. The Prince shut himself up in his tent, and abstained from food and sleep. When the devoted servants petitioned, the wise sovereign yielded, and returned. An order was given that the Khān-Khānān should bring on the ladies:  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kos 81 bambus were traversed, and H. M. halted at the village of Kūsū. Next day  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos 13 poles were traversed, and H. M. halted at Khānpūr.<sup>2</sup> A remarkable thing there is that there is a tree called Hal Tal<sup>3</sup> on the roadside, which is a wonder to beholders. It has

<sup>1</sup> Meaning that A. F. felt disgusted with the world.

<sup>2</sup> There is a Khānpūr Serai marked on the map S. S. W. Srīnagar, but it is further off than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kos. Apparently it is 12 miles from Srīnagar. Tiefenthaler puts it at 5 miles, i.e. kos. Stein I. 482 n. states that the real name is Khāmpūr. See also Bates' Gazetteer. The Iqbāl-nāma says the quivering tree was 3 kos from Srīnagar.

<sup>3</sup> This tree is mentioned by Ni-

zāmu-d-dīn in his account of the kings of Kashmīr. He calls it a Khūbāzī (mallow?) tree. He says that when he went with Akbar on his second expedition to Kashmīr he tested the quality of the tree. Ferishta copies his account, but calls the tree a willow (*bed*). Perhaps it is the poplar (*Populus alba*). See T. R., Ross and Elias, App. A., p. 400, where for 22 read 200. I have seen a tree in the Bhagalpur public garden which shook all over when a branch



a strong trunk and many branches, and numerous leaves. If a twig of it be set in motion, the whole tree begins to shake. There are plenty of trees of this species, but they do not behave like this one.

was touched. It has been ascertained (by Dr. Prain) that it is an *Adansonia digitata*. The Khānpūr tree seems to be the same as that mentioned by Ḥaidar in the T. R. Ross and Elias, p. 428, as being at Nāgām, one short march from Srinagar. Nāgām according to the map is about 3 miles W. Khānpūr. The *Iqbāl-nāma* seems to call the tree Hall-mal, which agrees with the variant in the A. N. Bib. Ind. In the *Aīn J.* II. 336, the tree is mentioned, but Hal Tal or Hal Thal is given as the name of the village, not of the tree. Sir G. King thought it might be the *Populus* tre-

mula or the *P. Euphratica*. Stein II. 475, and I Book VII. 159 note, adopts the *Āīn* statement that Halthal is a village and supposes it to be the Shalishthala of the *Rājatarangini*. Jahangīr, *Tāzūk* 304, gives Hal Thal as the name of the tree, and says he saw another of the species in *Cārda-rah*, the residence of Ḥaidar Malik. See also *Badayūnī*, Lowe 398, where for "height more than a *gaz*" read "height more than an arrow-flight." Perhaps, *halla* means "quivering." Ḥaidar Malik, I. O. MS. 510, also mentions the tree, p. 232b, and calls the village Pal Thal.



## CHAPTER XCIX.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE STANDARDS OF FORTUNE AT THE CAPITAL OF  
KASHMĪR.

On 25<sup>1</sup> Khurdād, 5th June, 1589, after 8 hours 24 minutes, H.M. having marched 1½ *kos* 18 poles, planted his standards in the city of Srīnagar. Crowds of people arrived and had their desires gratified. 543 There was the glory of largesse and presents. H. M. alighted at the lofty palace of Yūsuf K., the ruler of Kashmīr. The quarters of the soldiers (i.e., of Yūsuf's soldiers) were allotted to the various servants, and an order was given that the troops should not be quartered in the houses of the inhabitants.

From Lahore, the capital, to this place (Srīnagar) 97 *kos*<sup>2</sup> 7 poles were traversed in 24 marches. Though the number of *kos* is not great, yet on account of the ups and downs, the distance is very long and difficult. God be praised that a long-cherished wish of H. M. was easily gratified! What former rulers had died wishing for, was attained with a small amount of application. Mountains which pedestrians could not traverse were crossed by H. M. with a large army and numerous elephants! Srīnagar is a great city and has been long peopled. The river Bihat flows through it. Most of the houses are of wood, and some rise up to five<sup>3</sup> storeys. On the roofs they

<sup>1</sup> Akbar took about forty days to reach Srīnagar. Either there is a hiatus in the MSS. or A. F. has not recorded the last stage or two. The last stage he mentions is Khānpūr, and then at the beginning of this chapter he tells us that Akbar entered Srīnagar after a march of 1½ *kos*. But Khānpūr is 4 or 5 *kos* from the city. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that Akbar travelled from Hīrapur to Srīnagar in two days and a night (*shab darmiyan*),

and that he saw the great quivering tree, when he was 3 *kos* from the city. The date given in Elliot V. 457 is 1 Shabān 997, 5th June, 1589.

<sup>2</sup> Though he here mentions 97 *kos*, the distances given by A. F. only amount to about 89½ *kos*, and the number of stages mentioned is 23 and not 24. Lawrence, p. 266, states that the distance from Srīnagar to Bhimbhar is 148 miles.

<sup>3</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says, from 2 to 3



plant tulips<sup>1</sup> and other flowers, and in the spring these rival flower-gardens. When it is the rainy season in India, it also rains here,<sup>2</sup> and, like Turān and Irān, much snow falls in winter. In spring there are showers (*bārān*). The crops seldom suffer from a deficiency of rain. The praises of the country cannot be contained within the narrowness of language. Something has been said about this in the concluding volume. My brother, my spiritual and physical elder, wrote a great ode in praise of the Shāh and of Kashmīr. I quote some lines<sup>3</sup> from it.

*Verse.*

547 On this day Shahbāz K. was transferred from the great camp (at Bhimbar) to Swād. Mīr Isfarāīnī was sent as sazāwal to escort him thither and to bring Ṣādiq to court. At this time Gohar<sup>4</sup> Ṣūfī came and paid his respects. He was an emancipated one (*āzāda*) belonging to the sect of *Rīshīs*.<sup>5</sup> Thirty years before this, Ghāzi K., the ruler of Kashmīr, had put his teacher to death on suspicion that some rebels had been sheltered in his house. The darvesh (Gohar) had thereupon become disgusted with life, and had struck a knife into his belly, but did not accomplish his purpose. Next time he thrust his belly against the edge of a wall and a fissure was opened out, whereby his bowels burst forth. But this did not cause loss of life. The portion of the bowel which was inside dried up at its

to 5 storeys, and that the latter are called *lohi* in Kashmīrī. Jahāngīr, Tāzūk 299, describes the roof-gardens.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the *Fritillaria Imperialis*. J. II. 349.

<sup>2</sup> But the rains are much less in Kashmīr, and there is no rainy season. Stein 119 says: "What chiefly characterises the climate of Kashmīr as against that of the Indian plains is the absence of a rainy season, and the equally marked absence of excessive heat."

<sup>3</sup> There are 196 lines, and I have not thought it necessary to translate them, as they are not of special merit. Farzī says in them much more in

praise of Akbar than of Kashmīr. In two of the lines he gives the date of the conquest, viz. "middle of Khurdād of the 34th year, or Rajab 997; May 1589."

<sup>4</sup> The variant Kotar or Kota seems preferable.

<sup>5</sup> Text *darveshe*, but the variant *rīshī* is right. The *Rīshīs* were a Muḥammadan sect. See Bates' Gazetteer, Introd., p. 31. In J. II. 353 A. F. is made to speak of *brahmins* as the most respectable class in the country, but this is a mistake caused by a bad reading in the text. The true reading of *Rīshī* is in Gladwin. See also Lawrence 287.



head, and there remained outside about a cubit in length. His excrement passed out by this (aperture?). He cleansed the outer portion and put it into a wooden vessel (*āwand*). H. M. treated that broken-hearted one kindly, and a new rank was given to devotion.

On the 28th (*Khurdād*) he went to visit *Shihāb-u-d-dīnpūr*.<sup>1</sup> This is a delightful spot on the bank of the *Bihat*. The planes (*cinārḥā*) there raise their heads to the sky, and the verdure enchants the eyesight. It was stated that whenever soilure was caused by men's visiting the place, or by any bones etc. falling there, they disappeared next morning. People said a spiritual squadron came and swept and cleansed the place. When H. M. appointed truthful and acute persons to inquire into this, the tale was found not to have the glory of truth. It was an exaggeration on the part of former eulogists, and short-sighted people in their simplicity believed it. On his return he passed by the polo (*caugān*) ground. Travellers have seldom seen so verdant and charming a spot. On the 31st the Prince Royal was sent off to bring the ladies. He was ashamed of his former mistake, and was continually showing a desire to obtain this service. The *Shāhinshāh* granted his request and gave him leave to go. *Āṣaf K.*, *Mādhū Singh*, and some other servants were sent with him. Also on this day he indulged in water-fowling and enjoyed it greatly. Several times he engaged in this sport. The 548 chief huntsmen take hawks on their arm in little boats (*zoraqchahā*) and let them fly at the proper moment. Those swift birds rush down from the air and hold the waterfowl down<sup>2</sup> on the surface of the water and sit upon them and convey them to the boat.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ladies. Prince *Sulṭān Murād*, the *Khān-Khānān*, *Qāsim K.* and other servants exerted themselves greatly in improving the road, and in assisting

<sup>1</sup> This place is mentioned in *Ferishta's* account of *Ḥaidar M. T. R.*, *Ross* and *Elias* 490. It and the plane trees are referred to in the *Āīn*. *J. II.* 364. It is now known as *Shādīpur*, but *Dr. Stein* scouts the idea that this means the city of marriage. It lies at the junction of the *Bihat* and the *Sindh*, and is re-

garded in consequence as a "*Priyāg*," or holy place, like the meeting of the waters at *Allahabad*.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. II.* 351 and *B.* 295, where the method of hawking in *Kashmīr* is described. *Lawrence* 134 states that this sport is not practised nowadays.



the bearers. The Prince Royal joined them in Pūshāna.<sup>1</sup> Prince Sultān Murād returned to take charge of the main camp. When they had approached to within two *kos*, H. M. received them on 9 Tīr, 20th June 1589, and by various kindnesses gave joy to the visitors. The officers who had performed the service received fresh honours.

One of the occurrences was a great flood in Ujjain in Mālwa. It began to rain on the 12th, and this continued for three days. The river Siprā<sup>2</sup> rose high and the outer and inner lakes (*kūlāb*) overflowed. 1700 houses were carried away. Though but few men were lost, yet many animals were carried away by the waves. The flood had reached the gate of the city when the outer lake<sup>3</sup> burst, and the waters were dispersed.

One of the occurrences was the assessment of Kashmīr. When the able accountants brought forward the subject of the revenue, the just sovereign proceeded to make inquiries. He sent S. Faizī, Mīr Sharīf<sup>4</sup> Āmulī, Khwājagī<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusāin to scrutinize the Mararīj<sup>6</sup> (Marrāj), while Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Khāfī—who had come at that time from Kabul—and the Kuar (Mān Singh) were sent to examine the Kāmraj.<sup>7</sup> Though the autumn crop was over, yet they were able by their skill to make an estimate of it. In India the land is divided into plots, each of which is called a *bīgha*. In the delightful land of Kashmīr every plot is called a *patta*.<sup>8</sup> This should be one *bīgha* one *biswa* according to the *Ilāhi gaz*, but the Kashmīrīs reckon

<sup>1</sup> For Pūshāna. So in text, and the name is probably right, but the I.O. MSS. seem to have another reading. Murād apparently went back to Bhimbar where the main camp remained. The bulk of the army seems never to have entered Kashmīr.

<sup>2</sup> J. II. 195 and 196 and the I. G. Ujjain is situated on the Siprā. According to A. F. it sometimes flowed with milk. Jahāngīr, Price, 118, speaks of a large lake near the city of Ujjain, and of its washing the castle walls. Perhaps the "inner and outer lakes" means Kāliyādaha mentioned in J. II. 196, and more particularly described by Faizī Sir-

hindī in his account of Akbar's march to the Deccan in the 44th year. The reservoir was composed of a running stream.

<sup>3</sup> The old city of Ujjain is about a mile to the N. of the modern one. These lakes (*kūlāb*) are not mentioned in the I. G.

<sup>4</sup> B. 452, etc.

<sup>5</sup> He was the younger brother of Qāsim, the conqueror of Kashmīr.

<sup>6</sup> and <sup>7</sup> Upper and Lower Kashmīr. See J. 368, 370.

<sup>8</sup> This measure of land is not mentioned by Lawrence. He says, p. 243, Land measures are calculated, not by length and breadth, but by the



2½ *pattas* and a little more as one (Kashmīrī?) *bīgha*. By agreement<sup>1</sup> with the Government (*Diwān*) one-third of the produce is paid as revenue. In accordance therewith every village has been assessed at a certain number of *kharwārs*<sup>2</sup> of rice. The same amount of *kharwārs* is demanded every year without any fresh investigation. The *kharwār* is 3 *mans* 8 *sīrs*<sup>3</sup> Akbarshāhī. Sometimes they reckon by the *trak*,<sup>4</sup> which is eight royal (i.e. Akbarshāhī) *sīrs*. Of the spring (*rabī'*) crop they take for one *patta* of wheat, barley, pulses, and mustard, two *traks* as the share of the ruler. In Lār<sup>5</sup> and its appurtenances the persons deputed to inquire found that 1 *man* 26 *sīrs* of wheat, 1 *man* 26¾ *sīrs* of barley, 1 *man* 30½ *sīrs* of pulses and mustard were taken and that in the autumn-crop there was taken from that extent of *shālī* 12 (rice) (land) one *kharwār*, from *mung* (*phaseolus mungo*), *moṭah* (*P. aconitifolius*) and *māsh*, two *traks*, from *gāl* and millet four *traks*. When the unofficial (*kāghzkhām*) papers of every village—which showed the real facts—were obtained, the amount of the ruler's share came to 5 *mans* for rice, while for *mung*, *moṭah* and *māsh* it was 549 1 *man* 30½ *sīrs*, from *kangnī*<sup>6</sup> and millet it was 2 *mans* 22½ *sīrs*.

amount of seed required by certain areas of rice cultivation. A *kharwar* of land, i.e. the area requiring *kharwar* weight of seed, is equal to four British acres.

<sup>1</sup> Text, *az farāz*, but it appears from the I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. of the A. N. that the proper reading is *az qarār*. The literal meaning of the passage seems to be "With the *diwān* the agreement is for three heaps of crop." Blochmann, p. 346, has given an abstract of the passage, taken apparently from the account of M. Yūsuf in the M'aasir U. III. 313. The translation, "three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmīr," is wrong, and the account in the A. N. shows that all grains were taxed. The passage is explained by the Āyīn, J. II. 366, where it is said that one-third has long been the nominal share of the

State. The words in the Persian text of Āīn I. 570 are *sih toda*, just as it is in the paragraph in the A.N.

<sup>2</sup> *Kharwār*, lit. an ass's load. According to Wilson's Glossary it is 700lb. but the Kashmīrī *kharwār* is stated by Lawrence to be 177½ lb. Cf. J. II. 366 and Stein's *Rajataranginī* Book V. 71, p. 145 note.

<sup>3</sup> Seven in text, but I. O. MS. 236 has eight as in the variant, and this agrees with the Āīn, J. II. 366. A *trak* is = 11½ lb.

<sup>4</sup> See Lawrence 243. A. F. spells the word and he makes it *tark*, see B. 84 n. 3, but *trak* or *trakh* is the proper pronunciation.

<sup>5</sup> "It borders on the mountains of great Tibet." J. II. 363.

<sup>6</sup> *Kangnī* is described in Lawrence's *Kashmīr*, p. 337. It is also called *Shol*, and its botanical name is



The Mararāj investigators brought back similar reports. As there was abundance of futile talkers and concealers of the truth, and the governor (*mirzbān*)<sup>1</sup> of Kashmīr was desirous that the truth should not appear, and the sovereign<sup>2</sup> had in his mind the enjoyment of sight-seeing, and the cultivators were chiefly soldiers, the assessment was not fixed upon actual facts (*qarār-i-wāqa'*). The twenty lakhs of *kharwārs* of rice were increased by two lakhs. Apparently, the far-seeing glance (of Akbar) perceived that an increase in the assessment, even though it did not exceed a duly calculated amount, would bring destruction on the cultivators, especially in a newly conquered country.

On the 22nd (Tīr, about 2nd July 1589) H.M. gave leave to the writer to visit Wāhid Ṣūfī. Inasmuch as he has a daily-increasing desire to seek out good and pious men, his blissful servants take pains to search for such. At this time the Malku-sh-sh'ara S. Faizī<sup>3</sup> wrote to this least of men (A. F.): "Here an enlightened anchorite has come into my view. For thirty years he has in an unnoticed corner been gathering happiness on an old mat. Affectation and self-advertisement have not touched the hem of his garment. By dint of inward purity he has come to know somewhat of the Shāhinshāh

*Setaria Italica*. Elphinstone II. calls it *Panicum Italicum* and says it is termed *Ghoosht* by the Afghans, and *congunnee* by the Hindustanis. Its grain is husked into rice, but it is not esteemed by the Kashmīrīs as food, being considered by them to be heating."

<sup>1</sup> Payments in coin and kind were estimated in *kharwārs* of (Shālī) rice," J. II. 366. The *kharwār* was reckoned at 16 *dāms*, B. 346. In the *Ayīn* the *kharwār* in kind is stated to be 29 *dāms* and the *kharwār* in cash to be 29 *dāms* as formerly. At this assessment, says the *Maasir*, the country was made over to M. Yūsuf K. The revenue was afterwards raised in the 36th year to 30 lakhs, 63,000 *kharwārs*. Āṣaf's settlement

was a little higher, being 30 lakhs, 79,000 *kharwārs*, and it appears that the money value of the *kharwār* was also enhanced. See J. II. 366-67 (the Āṣaf K. referred to is Āṣaf No. 3: see B. 411). The increases led to a rebellion and to the murder of Qāzī 'Alī.

<sup>2</sup> The word is *shahrīyār*, and must mean Akbar. He was bent on enjoying the spectacle (*tamāsha*) of Kashmīr and did not scrutinize the assessment. Perhaps, the meaning is that he wanted to see the cultivators happy and so only made a trifling increase in the assessment.

<sup>3</sup> The Ṣūfī lived a long way up the Jhelam. Faizī had gone in that direction in connection with the settlement, as he had been deputed to the Marāj district.



and though he has not seen him, he bears on his heart's shoulder the burden of his discipleship." When I brought this to the notice of H.M. he ordered this traveller for the search of truth to go and make a thorough inquiry into the matter. If the account given of him turned out to be true, and he was willing to come, I was to bring him with me. By great good fortune I met in with that bewildered<sup>1</sup> one, and the old sore of Divine longing opened afresh. For a long time he had lived, like Aweis<sup>2</sup> and Karkhī, in a ruined habitation. As he concerned himself but little with men's customs, some called him mad, and some called him an atheist. He lived apart from joy and sorrow, and took nothing from anybody except broken bread. After many years he assumed an old and tattered cloak. I brought forward the old secret, and laid hold of his companionship. Though owing to the obscurity of my understanding, I did not know the Kashmīrī language, yet I gathered much edification through an interpreter, and there was a new market for my ear. As his heart was much alienated from the sons of men, he could not come out (from his cell). The world's lord was delighted with this news and

<sup>1</sup> *Ān pai gam kardā rā*. He who has lost his feet or has gone astray. But I am inclined to think that the text is corrupt. It could hardly be a piece of great good fortune to meet with one who had gone astray. Perhaps we should read *ān be kam kardā rā*. "That one who had become perfect, or without defect."

<sup>2</sup> Aweis Qarnī, a saint who had given up the world. He was a contemporary of Muḥammad and was killed in battle in A.D. 657. See Beale's Dictionary. Karkhī appears to be the M'arūf Karkhī of J. III. 355 who founded the Karkhī order. He died in A.D. 815. There is an account of him in Beale ed. 1894, p. 245. I am however convinced that the text is corrupt, and think that the editors of the Bib. Ind. ed. have substituted

what they considered an intelligible reading for one that to them was not so. None of the MSS. seems to have *و کرخی* *u karkhī*, and it does not appear from the account in the Ayīn or in Beale that M'arūf was distinguished for asceticism. I.O. MS. 236, which is generally correct, has *basān Avīs dāda barkh*. Dāda is Turkish and is a name given to darvishes and qalandars, and here I think it is an appellation of Aweis. *Barkh* means a small house, or den, and should, I think, be connected by 'izāfat under the following word *khṛābanishīn*. The phrase then would run "living in a hovel, like Avīs the qalandar." But *uwais* means a wolf, and possibly the words *uwais dāda barkh* mean a wild wolf's den.



resolved<sup>1</sup> that he would go in person, and illuminate the darkness of his hermitage.

One of the occurrences was an exhibition of H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries. It had been reported to him that the ruler of Kashmīr had in a fit of intoxication thrown one of his ladies from the top of a terrace. One day when he was inspecting the Kashmīr palaces, he, while many lofty windows and watch-towers were around him, said with his pearl-laden tongue: "It seems that Yūsuf must have flung that innocent one from this terrace." On inquiring this was found to be the case.

Also, on this day, Jagannāth, who was troubled for want of a house, and was wishing for the house of Qarā Beg, performed<sup>2</sup> the kornish from the top of a terrace. H.M. quickly said to him, "You have come a long way down; the house of Qarā Beg is large and is near: let that be your quarters." A cry of wonder arose from all. Also about this time, one morning, the sound of singing reached his ear, and he  
 550 said to Naqīb K: "Can you from the voice make any guess as to the age of the singer?" After much reflection he replied: "It seems to be more than forty and less than fifty." H. M. said: "I think it is more than twenty and less than thirty." When inquiry was made, it was found that the age was twenty-five.

At this time he felt a desire for the coming of Miriām Makānī,<sup>3</sup> and ordered that a petition to that effect should be written to her. With his pearl-laden tongue he said: "Let this verse which my soul has just now uttered be made the preamble to the application."

<sup>1</sup> Akbar fulfilled this intention.  
 See *infra*, p. 551.

<sup>2</sup> So in text, but the MSS. have a different reading. I.O. MS. 236 has *kornish dādand, badūr farmūdand*—"Akbar permitted the kornish and said to him." I.O. MS. 235 has *bāz kornish dādand*. He (Akbar) returned, or acknowledged, the *kornish*. I think that on this account, and also because of the words *az farāz bāme*, that the words "from the top of the roof" refer to Akbar and not to

Jagannath. The word *zūd* "quickly" seems wrong. *Kornish dādand* means "gave permission to perform the *kornish*." See *supra* p. 542 line four, where we are told that Jahāngīr, as being in disgrace, was not allowed to perform the kornish, *kornish na-dādand*.

<sup>3</sup> She was not in time to join him in Kashmīr, but she, and apparently Gulbadan Begum and other ladies, joined him near Kabul. See *infra* p. 568.



*Verse.*

The pilgrim may go to the K'aaba to perform the *haj*.

O God! May the K'aaba come towards us!

On the 23rd (Tīr, about 3 July 1589) Hāshim K. the son of Qāsim K. was sent off to put to right the Paklī road, as H.M. intended to return by that way. Many stone-breakers and diggers accompanied him. Zain K.<sup>1</sup> Koka was ordered to return and to conduct the great camp and other people to Rohtās. He was (after that) to come back to H.M. by way of Paklī. On this day news came that Khudāwand<sup>2</sup> K. had died in Pātan Gujrat on 1 Khurdād, 11 May 1589. He was one of the brave men of the south country, and in company with the Berar officers he had had the blessing of an audience, and had been exalted by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. went to Mararāj by boat. From the view that to go by water is to sit while travelling, and that it brings many delights, it occurred to him that he would in this manner go in that direction. As in this country there were more than 30,000 boats but none fit for the world's lord, able artificers soon prepared river-palaces, and made flower gardens on the surface of the water. Men of note, and near relatives, also prepared boats so that more than a thousand were made ready, and there was a city upon the waters. On 24 Tīr, 4 July 1589, H. M. embarked with his ladies. The anchor was raised at dawn and they proceeded up stream. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  kos 14 poles were traversed, and he encamped opposite Minaur<sup>3</sup> (Pampūr?).

<sup>1</sup> He was with the emperor. See supra p. 542 where he is mentioned as having, with others, been left in charge of the camp at Dewar, or Digrāma near Supiyan. He was now apparently to conduct back the main camp etc. to Rohtās by way of Bhimbar, and then to come back and meet the emperor by the Paklī route. Or perhaps he was both to go and come by that route.

<sup>2</sup> He had married A. F.'s sister. See Badayūnī, Lowe 384. His mother was an Abyssinian and his father

a Persian from Mashhad. He was a man of imposing stature and strength.

<sup>3</sup> There are the variants Pantūr and Pīnūr. I feel pretty certain that the place is Pampūr, the old Padmapūra, mentioned in J. II. 357; *pā* and *yā* are often mistaken for one another, there being only the difference of a dot between them. Pīnūr when written in Persian is not unlike Pampūr. The identification is strengthened by Blochmann's having read Banpūr and correcting it in his Index to Pampūr.



On each side of the river there were flower gardens and verdures to delight the eye. Guards were stationed on each bank. They looked after the husbandmen and the weak. Things which give pleasure, and successes which make the lords of destinies to stumble, only make H.M. more wary. The farsighted in this way improve their lives, while those who do not extend their view beyond secondary causes become infatuated. Next day he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos 60 poles and halted near Panj<sup>1</sup> Birāra (Bīj Bihāra). Starting at dawn next day he travelled  $5\frac{1}{4}$  kos 8 poles and arrived opposite the plain of Nandī

**551** Marg.<sup>2</sup> Though at every station there were choice spots, yet this *Alang* (pasturage) was a fresh vision to eye and heart. It is 3000 *bighas* in extent, very level, luxuriant and verdant. Farsighted travellers find few places equal to it. The lord of the diadem gathered pleasure by looking at it, and offered praises to God. Nandī was a woman and a servant of Mahādeo, and *marg* means a plain. Romancers tell that she was in love with a young man, and when he came to this pleasant spot to play polo, she would come and soothe her soul by a sight of him. The governor of Kashmīr proposed to bring the plain under cultivation. Fearing that this would put a stop to the polo, she bought the plain for a large sum, and imprecated a curse on any one who altered the ground. Cycles have elapsed since then, but it is still preserved in its old state.

One of the occurrences was the death of M. Sulaimān. From the time that he did homage for the second time at the sacred threshold, he spent his days in repose and enjoyment. At the time of the expedition to Kashmīr he had been left in Lahore in order that nothing might occur to molest the tranquillity of this old man.

<sup>1</sup> The Vej Brāra of J. II. 356, and the Vijayeśvara and Vijabror of Stein 173, 174 and n. Bror means God.

<sup>2</sup> The word is jallya, a plain. Cf. the description of Nandī Marg in J. II. 357 where it is spoken of as being near Punj Barāra. I think there must be some mistake for in addition to the fact of Nandimarg's being described in the Ayīn as near Vej Brāra,

I do not see how Aybar could travel up stream  $5\frac{1}{4}$  kos to Nandimarg, then 3 kos to Kanabal, when the whole distance between Vej Brāra and Kanabal appears to be under 5 miles. Possibly Nandīmarg is the Nanmarg of Vigne and of Bate's *Gazetter*. It is some 12 m. east Saupiyn and is apparently the Nan Miraj of Stein's map, but if so, Akbar must have left the Bihat to visit it.



At this stage the news came that he had quitted the world on 13 Tīr, 23 June 1589. H.M. mourned for his death. The chronogram of his birth is *Īkhshī*.<sup>1</sup> He lived for 77 years, and was unique for courage, and knowledge of war.

On the following morning H.M. travelled 3 *kos* 44 poles and arrived at the village of Kahuṇapal<sup>2</sup> (Kanabal) beyond which boats do not go. On the way he visited the hermitage of Wāḥid Ṣūfī, of whom I have already given some description. He uttered heart-pleasing words, and made the dervish strong of heart. H.M. said that his sole idea was to keep his soul in ways well-pleasing to God as far as his powers would allow. It was also proper to observe order in the administration of the world. He hoped that this enlightened heart (the hermit) would strengthen him towards the fulfilment of this wish. He (the hermit) paid his respects and represented that he knew something of the lofty rank of the world's lord, and that his outward glory was the veil over his spiritual beauty. He had long cherished the wish that he might obtain edification from that spiritual and temporal lord. At this time the Prince-Royal came up from the rear, and an order was given that he should visit the hermitage. The writer of the noble volume was sent along with him. The prince first implored blessings for the world's lord, and the hermit gave the same reply as before. Then he begged his prayers for himself. The answer was that he should obtain his wishes from the temporal and spiritual primate.

From this stage H.M. went off on the horse (*bārah*) of fortune to see the fountain of Alanj,<sup>3</sup> which is a delightful place for visitors, and a place of worship of the ancients. There is a limpid reservoir, and

<sup>1</sup> The text has *bakhshī*, but Sulaimān was born in 920 A.H. so *īkhshī*, beautiful, is the proper reading.

<sup>2</sup> The Kanbal of Stein's map, just before Islāmābād. Lawrence says, p. 18 "the river is navigable without a single lock from Bārāmula to Kanabal, the port of Islāmābād, a distance of 102 miles."

<sup>3</sup> The Achiaval of Bernier who visited and described it, the Achh Dal

of J. II. 358, the Achibal of Stein's map, and the Achābal of Lawrence, p. 22, who says, it is perhaps the most beautiful of all the springs. See also Bates. It is about six miles E. of Islāmābād. Dal in the *Āīn* is probably correct, for the word *dal* means a lake. The text has Alanj, but the true reading seems to be Acch or Īch. See Stein 180, and Bernier's letters.



the water always shoots up (from the earth). Occasionally, a beautiful, yellow, spotted fish appears, and whenever this occurs, the year is reckoned a fortunate one. It appeared about this time, and caused joy. From there he went to hunt, and his idea was that he would proceed on to the fountain-head<sup>1</sup> of the Bihat, but rain and the slipperiness of the defiles restrained him from this plan.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Tibet. When the sound of the world-conquering armies reached that country, the rulers thereof had not the courage to come personally to the sublime court. They remained in bewilderment. As they showed obedience by continually sending presents, M. Beg was sent to 'Alī Rai the ruler of Little<sup>2</sup> Tibet, and Mullā Ṭālib<sup>3</sup> Isfahānī, and Mihtar Yārī to the ruler of great Tibet. Soothing and encouraging words were written to them.

On 29 Tīr, Divine month, 9 July 1589, H.M. fell ill, and that day passed in severe pain. Next day there were signs of improvement. After two days he took two spoonfuls of soup, and in a short time he became well. He used to say that he had often been ill, but that the pains of those days had not come up to the pain of that first day. May God the Giver of life long preserve him in sound health and in the administration of justice !

*Verse.*

May dominion not be far from his pillow.

May there be no light to the crown without his head.

May his life be sempiternal.

May his threshold be life's sanctuary !

<sup>1</sup> Vernāg, Stein 182; but see Lawrence, p.18. See also Jahāngīr's account. Elliot VI. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Little Tibet is Baltistan, and Great Tibet is Ladakh. Haider M. conquered these countries and gave Little Tibet to Mullā Qāsim and

Great Tibet to Mullā Hasan. T. R., Ross and Elias 489. Qāsim was afterwards killed. *id.* 490.

<sup>3</sup> B. 607 and n. He is there called Bābā Ṭālib. He was a poet. See J. III. 393, where a quatrain by him is quoted. See also Badayūnī III. 265.



## CHAPTER C.

RETURN OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM KASHMĪR THE PARADISAICAL.

As the spectacle of that ever-vernal flower garden—which leads every one else to self-indulgence—made H.M. more zealous in devotion to the Creator, and as he had gathered some delight from travelling in it; and had made the peasantry and the soldiery joyful, he decided to return. Though the attractions of the climate, and the abundance of flowers and fruit shut off the road of escape, yet wisdom prevailed and prevented him from staying longer. On 1 Amardad, 11 July, 1589, the anchor was raised and he set <sup>1</sup> sail. The Paklī route was kept before his eyes. He travelled 3 *kos* 25 poles, and halted opposite Nandīmarg. On this day Abiyā <sup>2</sup> paid his respects, and was received with favour. As Y‘aqūb Kashmīrī—who had in some measure awaked from his slumbers, perceived the majesty of the Shahinshah, and wished to pay his respects, H. M. made the arrivals happy, and sent them back satisfied. But as Y‘aqūb was impressed by the greatness of his crimes; he had not the courage to come in, but sent his brother, in order that the good news of pardon might reach him, and might ease his fears. The brother returned after succeeding in his wishes. Next day he spent in the same delightful spot. On the morning following he departed, and 553 after travelling 4 *kos* 59 poles, he encamped near Joras (?).<sup>3</sup> On this day some ladies arrived from the great camp, and paid their respects. Āṣaf K., Khwāja Daulat, and others, did homage. Here a privy

<sup>1</sup> *Bādbān Kashībānd*. In Bates' Gazetteer, Introd., p. 10, it is stated that Kashmīr boats have no sails. Perhaps A. F. is only speaking rhetorically.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the name is Abhaya.

<sup>3</sup> Text, جواس variant خواین. The I. O. MSS. have Joras. If the vari-

ant be correct, the village may be the Khūr or Khūr Nakavīr of Stein 183. But I incline to think it is Sursu, or Tsurus, the Soorvo of the map, a large village on bank of Jhelam, between Bij Bihāra and Avantipūr. It may, however, be the Jarura of the T. Rashīdī, p. 439.



council was held, and the expedition to Kabul was decided upon. After one (day's) halt, he travelled 5 *kos* and halted near Pampūr. One day afterwards, he travelled 4 *kos*, 36 poles, and stopped near the Koh-i-Sulaimān.

On this day he paid a visit of consolation to Muḥibb Āli K.<sup>1</sup> and gave some pleasure to him, who was prepared for the last journey. Then he got into a small boat and proceeded towards the city. His only object was to exalt by consolation Amīr Fath Ullah Shīrāzī who had been ill from his first coming to the city, and had been unable to accompany H.M. on the excursion. H.M. came to the bedside of that chosen member of wisdom's family, and spoke graciously. Next day he halted. The days of Muḥibb 'Alī were ended. One said to him, "Say there is no God except God." He, who had long refrained from speech, now said, "'Tis not a time to say Lā Ullah (without God). 'Tis a time to fix all one's heart on God (bā-ullah)." H.M., who appreciated merit, grieved for him and showed kindness to his family.

On 9 Amardād (about 19th July, 1589) H.M. travelled three *kos* and encamped after passing through Srinagar. On the way, his boat collided with a bridge, but by God's protection no damage resulted. After two days more he travelled 4 *kos* 60 poles, and encamped at Shihābu-d-dīnpūr.<sup>2</sup> Here Sultan Qoresh of Kāshghar arrived and was received with royal favours. His lineage goes back to the great Qāān (Cingez). He was s. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd s. Sultan Sāid s. Sultan Aḥmad, known as Ālanja K. s. Yunas s. Avīs s. Sher 'Alī Ogḥtan s. Khizr Khhāja s. Tughluq Timur s. Īsā Būgā s. Davā s. Burāq s. Bīsūm Tavā s. Mawatkān s. Caghtāi s. Cingez. Some account of Caghtāi has been given in volume one. Mawatkān was the second son of Caghtāi, whom Cingez loved more than all his other children. Mawatkān was killed by an arrow in 618 (1221 A.D.) under fort Bāmīān. Bīsūm Tavā, his second son, served Cingez till his death.

<sup>1</sup> This is Muḥibb Alī Rohtāsī, and not the son of Bābur's prime minister. See B. 422.

<sup>2</sup> About 12 m. N. N. W. Srinagar, and near the junction of the Sindh river. It is now known as Shādīpur, but Dr. Stein ridicules the idea

that the name is derived from Shādī (marriage), and considers it to be an abridgment of the name derived from Sultan Shihābu-d-dīn of the 14th century. Jahāngīr has an account of the place Elliot VI. 305.



Burāq was first with <sup>1</sup> Qubla Qān who sent him to Transoxiana. He was tyrannical, and fought in Persia with <sup>2</sup> Ayāq s. Hulāgū, and was defeated. In Bokhara he adopted the Aḥmadī (Muḥammadan) religion and took the name of S. Ghīāṣu-d-dīn. On his death Davā succeeded, and reigned with great splendour. He conquered Transoxiana, Turkīstan, Badakhshān and Kabul. He attacked Persia several times, and led armies into India, but was unsuccessful. Īsā **554** Būqā reigned, after his father, in Turkīstan, Kāshghar and Moghulistān. Tughluq Timur (his son) succeeded him. It is said <sup>3</sup> that Īsā Būqā had two wives, the elder being Sāilmish Khātīm, and the younger Manlīq. It being the rule that the elder wife, in a Moghul tribe, takes charge of the others, Sāilmish learnt, when the Khān was away on an expedition, that Manlīq was pregnant. She gave her to Sharāwal <sup>4</sup> Dukhtūi who was one of the great officers. When the Khān returned from his expedition, he was vexed at this, but there was no remedy. After the Khān's death there was confusion in the tribe. Amīr Būlājī Dughlat, the grandfather of M. Haidar, proceeded to search, and sent Tāshū Taimūr to enquire, in order that he might get information about Manlīk and her progeny. After much search he found that she was dead, and he brought away her son Tughluq Taimūr K., after a thousand troubles, from the country of the Qalmāqs. At the age of 16 <sup>5</sup> he ascended the throne, and in his 24th year he adopted the Aḥmadī religion. There being a commotion in Transoxiana, he marched to that country and by his justice gave it tranquillity. He perceived the marks of eternal greatness on the forehead of Ṣāhibqirānī (Timur) and made <sup>6</sup> over the country of Kash to him, and gave Transoxiāna to his own men. <sup>7</sup> After him Ilyās Khwāja K.

<sup>1</sup> Coleridge's Kubla Khan. The text omits the word Qubla, but it is in the I.O. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Should be Abāq or Abāqa. He succeeded his father in 1264. See Abaka K. in D'Herbelot.

<sup>3</sup> Taken, apparently, from T. Rashīdī. See translation p. 6. Text prints the passage as if it were a statement by Tughluq Timur!

<sup>4</sup> The Schivè Oghoul of Desmai-

son's translation of Abūl Ghāzī, p. 165. There, Būlājī is called Pou-lādtchi, and his messenger Tāsh Timūr. Though A. F. uses the word *jadd*, "grandfather," he must mean ancestor.

<sup>5</sup> T. R. 23.

<sup>6</sup> T. R. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently he made it over to his son Ilyās. See T. R. 22.



became ruler. When he died, the Moghal tribe fell into confusion. Amīr Qamaru-d-dīn Dūghlat put to death 18 persons from among the sons and sons-in-law of Tughluq Timur, and sat upon the throne. No descendant of Tughluq Timur survived except Khizr Khwājā. Amīr Khudādād, the brother's son of Qamaru d-dīn, hid the child with the help of the mother (of Khudādād). Şāhib Qirānī (Timur, i.e., Tamerlane) waged great wars with Qamaru-d-dīn, and when the latter died, Khizr Khwāja was raised to the throne. He preserved peace with Timur, and by his prudence Moghalistān was civilised. He took an army several times to Cathay, and got possession of Turfān<sup>1</sup> and Qarā Khwāja. His daughter Takal<sup>2</sup> Khānim was exalted by entering Timur's harem. Timur was called Gūrgān because that<sup>3</sup> is the title of a son-in-law.

Sher 'Alī<sup>4</sup> Oghlān lived with his brothers after his father's (Muhammad K.) death and died in early youth. <sup>5</sup>Avīs K. (Sher Ali's son) served his uncle Sher Muhammad K. who was ruler of Moghalistān. He took to brigandage (*qazzāqī*), and fought battles. When Sher Muhammad K. died, he ascended the Khānī throne. They say he waged 61 wars with the Qalmāqs, and was once victorious. Twice he was captured. Tāshī,<sup>6</sup> the ruler of the Qalmāqs, respected his high lineage and let him go. When Sātūq K. came against him, he **555** hastened to fight, and in the confusion he was killed by an arrow shot unwittingly<sup>7</sup> by one of his own men. Confusion arose in the Moghal tribe. After his father's catastrophe Yūnas K. was taken by some to Samarqand to M. Ulugh Beg, and Isā Būqā was made ruler of the Moghals. The Mīrza (Ulugh Beg)<sup>8</sup> killed many of them and took all that they had.

He sent Yūnas to Shāhrukh, and the latter kindly made him over to Maulānā Sharfu-d-dīn 'Alī Yezdī. From him he got some enlightenment, and when the Maulānā died, he passed into Arabia, Persia, Azarbaijān and Fārs. He made Shīrāz his home, bought land and acquired knowledge, and supported himself by his own

<sup>1</sup> T. Rashīdī 52 and n. 6. Karā-khoja is mentioned there as an important town on the borders of Cathay.

<sup>2</sup> Tavakkul of T. Rashīdī.

<sup>3</sup> T. R. 278 and note. <sup>4</sup> T. R. 60.

<sup>5</sup> The Vais K. of T. R. 60 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Tāshī in text. See T. R. 65 and 79 n 1.

<sup>7</sup> T. R. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Bābur refers to this incident, Erskine 11. See also T. R. 84.



industry. In his 41st year Sultan Abu S'aīd sent for him and provided him with an army. He sent him off against his brother who had come as an invader. After much fighting he was defeated, but by craft and stratagem he established himself near Farghāna, and men gathered round him. At this time Mīr Saiyid 'Alī, a grandson of Amīr Khudādād, died, and Yūnas' affairs became flourishing.

In a short time Īsā Būqā also died, and then his son Dost Muḥammad K. ascended the throne. In a short time, the government of Moghalistān became established in Yūnas K.; out of gratitude he gave his three daughters to M. Abu's sons, viz. Mihrnigār Khānim to Sulṭān Aḥmad, ruler of Samarqand; Sulṭān Nigār Khānim to Sulṭān Maḥmūd K. M. M. Sulaiman's father was born of this marriage. Qutlaq Nigār Khānim he gave to 'Umr S. M. H. M. Getī Sitānī (Bābur) was the offspring of this marriage. He lived for 74 years. At the end of his days he went into retirement<sup>1</sup> on account of the bad behaviour of his servants.

Sultan Aḥmad K., the second son of Yūnas, governed well, and fought with the Qalmāqs and won great victories. He prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs. When Shāh Beg defeated Aḥmad's elder brother S. Maḥmūd, Aḥmad came to help him, but by the jugglery of the heavens both brothers were defeated. Shāh Beg respected old obligations and let them go. Aḥmad fell ill of grief, and died. Sultan S'aīd was the third of Aḥmad's 16 sons.<sup>2</sup> He was for a while Shāh Beg's prisoner. He escaped and came to his uncle S. Maḥmūd. Then he left him and joined his brother Khalīl in Moghalistan. Between those two and the elder brother Manṣūr K. there was war. Sulṭān S'aīd K. had to traverse plains and deserts, but by the Divine aid he joined Getī Sitānī (Bābur) in Kabul, and was kindly received. He enjoyed himself for three years in the service of that appreciative one. Then he took an army with him and came to Farghāna, and conquered most of the country. M. Abū Bīkr, the ruler of Kāshghar, came to fight and was defeated. After this Sūnj<sup>3</sup> K., ruler of Turkistān, came with a large force. The Khān went to Qāsim K., the ruler of Dasht Qibcāq, and from there brought an army against Kāsh-

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<sup>1</sup> Haidar says, T.R. trans. 114, that Yūnas was seized with paralysis and was bedridden for the last two years of his life. He does not say

anything about the bad conduct of his servants.

<sup>2</sup> T. Rashīdī, 160, has 18 sons.

<sup>3</sup> Suzunj Khawāja K., T. R. 133.



ghar. He fought with M. Abū Bīkr and was victorious. He made peace with his elder brother Manṣūr K., and the *Khutba* was read in his (Manṣūr's) name and coin struck. They say that for some time after Manṣūr, the name of *Khān* was given to his son Shāh K. When he died, the government returned to S'aīd. He several times led an army against Moghulistān and was successful. He also fought with the people of Tibet, and gained victories. He sent his son Iskandar with M. Ḥaidar to Kashmīr by the way of Tibet, and that delightful country was conquered. On account of double-faced men, Ḥaidar made a sort of peace and returned. S'aīd died of asthma (*damgīrī*) and the insalubrity of Tibet. His son 'Abdu-r-Rashīd received his name from Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) at his father's request. When he succeeded, he governed justly and prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs. He always kept on friendly terms with Humāyūn. M. Ḥaidar has called his history by his name. When he died, 'Abdu-l-Karīm<sup>1</sup> succeeded him. He reigned worthily for 30 years. His six brothers were Ṣūfī Sultan,<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd, Qoresh, Abu S'aīd, 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm and 'Abdullah.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with their father's will, and from their goodness, they served 'Abdu-l-Karīm. A dispute arose between Qoresh's son *Khudābanda* and his uncle Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> He went off to the Kīrghiz (Text, *Dagavī*) and by their help he conquered *Tarfān*. The *Khān* was apprehensive on this account and sent off Qoresh to the *Hijāz*. He, with his belongings and his seven sons, Shah Muḥammad, 'Ādil, Moḡaffar, Ābdullah, Sanjar, Aḥmad and Ghazanfar, came to *Badakhshan*, and from there went to *Balkh*. By 'Ābdullah's permission he went to Fortune's threshold (Akbar's court) and was exalted by the service<sup>5</sup> of the world's lord. His eighth son, *Khudābanda*, remained where he was. Goodness and discretion shone from his forehead. When Ābdul-Karīm died, and the government came to his brother Muḥammad, 'Abdullah sent a large army against the latter from *Transoxiana*. It was defeated, and returned. What

<sup>1</sup> See T. Rashīdī, Introduction, p. 121. According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, Abdu-r-Rashīd had 13 sons. See also Ney Elias's *Khojas of E. Turkistan*, J.A.S.B. for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> See A. N. III. 150, 151. His brother Abu S'aīd was married to Ḥaram Begam's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Killed in Berar, A. N. III. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently this is the Maḥmūd mentioned above. A variant gives Muhammad as the name.

<sup>5</sup> Qoresh became a commander of 700. B. 459.



has been the end of this irrigation of the garden of words? Though a little diffusive, the rose garden of annals has been refreshed.<sup>1</sup>

On 13 Amardād, Divine month, 23 July 1589, H.M. travelled  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 12 poles, and arrived near Sopūr.<sup>2</sup> On the way he visited the garden of the Bāgh Ṣafā which M. Ḥaidar had made. He also climbed to the top of a little hill<sup>3</sup> from which much of Kashmīr could be seen, 557 and enjoyed exquisite pleasure. Next day, he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos, 72 poles, and halted near Patan.<sup>4</sup> He<sup>5</sup> disembarked here and went

<sup>1</sup> The last part of this digression adds to the information in the T. Rashīdī.

<sup>2</sup> Text Satpūr, but probably the place is Sopūr at the S. W. corner of the Wular lake. The I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Sopūr. It is also called Suyyapūra and may be the Suryapūr (recte Suyyapūra) mentioned in the T. A. quoted by Ross and Elias, p. 490. It is stated there that there was a palace of Zainu-l-Ābidin in Suryapur. A Satpūr is mentioned in J. II. 364. Perhaps this is Sopūr. Ḥaidar M.'s Bāgh Ṣafā was, as we learn from the T. A., in Andarkot which is the old Jayapura. Stein, p. 197. Akbar would pass this place on his way to Sopūr. The T. A. and Ferishta tell us that Ḥaidar M.'s building in the Bāgh Ṣafā was burnt by the rebellious Kashmīrīs. Apparently what Ḥaidar said when it was burnt was, "I did not bring this building from Kashghar, and so by God's help I shall be able to rebuild it." Andarkot seems also to be called Andarkūl, the one word meaning the Inner Fort, and the other, "Within the lake," and this is the position of Andarkot. See Mr. Growse's Architecture of Kashmīr, C. Review, January 1872, p. 29.

He spells the name Antar-kot from *abhyantara kotta*.

<sup>3</sup> This must be the isolated hill. Aha Tung of Bates's Gazetteer, S.W. Manasbal lake, and close to Sambal. It rises about 1,000 ft. above the plain (actual height 6,290) and is visible from many distant parts of the valley. See Stein II. 422.

<sup>4</sup> This is on the Barahmūla-Srīnagar road, and is two days' journey from the latter. It is not on the Jhelam (Veth) and I do not understand how Akbar got near it by boat, unless he went by a canal. He was travelling in the rainy season. Mr. Growse says that Patan or the Pass stands at the head of a small canal and that this passage is only navigable in the height of the rains. Patan is now only a large village, but is remarkable for two temples. See Stein's papers 199-200. Growse and Lawrence 175. I presume that by the word *shahr* A. F. means Srīnagar, but possibly Patan is meant, for it seems strange that they should have been sent back with presents to Srīnagar when Akbar might have made his donations when he was passing through the city. Perhaps, however, they were sent to look after 'Azdu-d-daulah.

<sup>5</sup> There is a variant here, and per-



on by land. On this day he sent the Maliku-sh-sh'ara S. Faizī, and Mīr Sharīf Amulī to the city with a large sum of money in order that they might distribute it to the emancipated ones who had chosen retirement and those who were silently needy, and to others who wished for help.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Y'aqūb K. Kashmīrī to the sublime court. He had suffered the retribution of his presumption and rebelliousness, and was spending his time in consternation among the defiles of Kishtwāra.<sup>1</sup> He had been greatly alarmed by the arrival of the great army, thinking that the landholders (of Kishtwāra) might seize him and deliver him up. Some of his bewilderment was removed when his brother came and announced to him the good news of pardon, and he betook himself to submissiveness. He saw no salvation for himself except by coming to pay his respects. But as he was greatly disturbed on account of his previous conduct, he presented a petition through M. Yūsuf K. "On account of the intoxication of youth, and intimacy with wicked men, what had occurred, had occurred. Now the whirlpool of repentance had taken possession of him. His prayer now was that H.M. would send him his special slipper so that he might place it on the crown of his head, and prostrate himself at the holy threshold." The gracious sovereign accepted his apology, and granted him his desire. The distressed one hastily came on receipt of this kindness. On 18 Amardād, the desire of his soul was gratified.

After three (days) hālts, H.M. resumed his march. He travelled  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 60 poles, and encamped near Naupāra.<sup>2</sup> In that country there are porters who carry immense burdens, and traverse hills, as if they were plains. These men transported much baggage. It was

haps the meaning of it is that Akbar disembarked and made arrangements for journeying by land without actually doing so.

It was on the *wudur* or table-land near Patan that Abu-l-Māālī was defeated by Ghāzī Cak in the fifth year of Akbar's reign. A. N. II. 102.

<sup>1</sup> Kishtwār town is called Kasta-wār by the Kashmīrīs. (Bates).

<sup>2</sup> I have not found the place. There is a village called Nagpathar w. Patan, but it is too near the latter place. Perhaps it is the Nūr-pūr between Barahmula and Patan mentioned in A. N. II. 102. Or it may be the Tapor of the maps, for in Persian writing n. and t. only differ by a dot.



a wonderful sight. H.M. set out next day at dawn, and having travelled 2 *kos*, 20 poles, he encamped at Bārahmūla. This is the gate of Kashmīr. On one side there is a sky-touching hill, and on the other the Bihat tumultuously rushes towards India. Between the two there is a narrow path. Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate there, and the guards admit no one without a passport. On this day Zain K. Koka arrived from Paklī and did homage. H.M. sent him forward in order that he might make strong a bridge over the Indus. The army was divided into eight portions. Some special troops were told off to follow the royal stirrup. The other seven<sup>2</sup> were arranged according to the watch of each day, and all the zealous men were put in charge of them so that each division might have its round of service. On the 23rd H.M. left the Bihat, and encamped after travelling  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a *kos*, plus 20 poles. On this day Mīr 'Ārif<sup>3</sup> Ardabīlī did homage. He had a large share of intelligence, and was also distinguished for his austerities. Some years ago, he had, on account of the chatter of the envious, hurried off from Lahore to Kashmīr. 'Alī K. the ruler had treated him with respect, and made him his son-in-law. Envious people represented that he was aiming at sovereignty, and was plotting to cut off the ruler when the latter should come to visit him. The Mīr on account of men's improper behaviour, and his ill luck, fled at night to the wilds. He was caught on the road, brought in, and abused. Thence he went to Tibet. 'Alī Raī<sup>4</sup> the ruler there gave him his sister in marriage. When the ambassadors went off to Tibet, an order was given that they should bring the Mīr. As he had secretly a desire for discipleship, he eagerly set off, although the ruler did not grant him leave, and his friends and allies terrified him. He was received with princely favours. After one day H.M. travelled 3 *kos*, 20 bambus and halted near Khānpūr.<sup>5</sup> Here news was received that on the 24th Khwāja

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stein saw the remains of the Drāng or watch-tower in 1892. Here, apparently, was the stone gate through which Hiuen Tsiang passed.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Badayūnī III. 59 has a long notice of him. He was a grandson

of Ism'aīl Ṣafavī, and so was styled Ardabilī. It was Makhdumu-l-Mulk who drove him from Lahore.

<sup>4</sup> Zād in text, but the variant Raī seems preferable.

<sup>5</sup> This can hardly be the Kani-sapura or Kanpur of Growse p. 28, for that is above Bārāhmūla. There



Ṣandal<sup>1</sup> had died. As this famous pigeon-fancier had fallen ill, he had been sent on before. On the way he took the final journey.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Azdu-d-daulah. He had been left behind in the city on account of illness. Ḥakīm<sup>2</sup> 'Alī did not treat him properly, and H.M. sent Ḥakīm Ḥasan to cure him. The latter reached the august camp, and it was made known that 'Azdu-d-daula had turned away his heart from this inn of 3-5 days' duration. H.M. grieved at the departure of this memorial of former sages. He often said that the Mīr was his vakīl, philosopher, physician, and astronomer, and that no one could understand the amount of his grief for him. "Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks, and they had demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such profitable traffic, and have bought that precious jewel cheap."<sup>3</sup> This bewildered one of the assembly of existence (A. F.) knows that he had completely plundered the caravan of learning's schools. The meeting with this spiritually great man worked a revolution in my ideas. Together with all this stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth and uprightness and practical skill. An order was given that his body should be removed from the *khānqā*<sup>4</sup> of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and conveyed to the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimān, which is a delightful spot.

Next day he marched 4 *kos*, 60 poles, and alighted at the village of Kānpalā<sup>5</sup> (?). It snowed for most of the way up to this place.

is a Kānpūr marked on Stein's map a little below Bārahmūla.

<sup>1</sup> See B. 302 where he is called *Khawājah Qandal Cheleh*. See also A. N. *infra*, p. 559, from which it appears that his tomb was west of Barahmūla and near Māhīpara.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥakīm 'Alī was a young man, and, according to Badayūnī III. 167, he prescribed *harīsa*, a thick pottage, with fatal effects. But in his history he says that Fath Ullah insisted on eating the pottage in spite of Ḥakīm 'Alī's remonstrances. See B. 33 n.

<sup>3</sup> Is this a reminiscence of con-

versations with Acquaviva and an allusion to St. Matthew xiii. 46?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 34. A picture of his shrine and its surroundings forms the frontispiece to Lawrence's work. See also p. 292 *id.*, and Bates' Gazetteer 361. Saiyid 'Alī is the great saint of the valley, and is said to have been the chief agent in converting the inhabitants. See J. II. 355 and n. 4 and ed. 392 and n. 6. He belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Kānelwār of Bates, as there is the variant Kānela. Kānelwār is the *taḥsīl* station of Dacīnpāra,



On each side there is a lofty mountain. The one on the right, in returning, was bare of trees; the other was full of cypresses and pines, though the distance between these two peaks was very small. At dawn he started again and marched  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos, 60 poles and halted near Pāhūnār<sup>1</sup> a dependency of Dajan Khārū.<sup>2</sup> In going from Bārahmūla up to the river Kishan Gang the country on the right hand is called Dajanpārā, and that on the left is called Khārū. Next day he traversed Kūārmast<sup>3</sup> 'which is the most difficult pass on this route, and halted at the village of Māhīpara.<sup>4</sup> He traversed  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 89 poles. 559 Sometimes he ascended from the depths up to the sky. In going through the pass H.M. drew rein for a while at the grave (*turbat*) of Khwāja Šandal and mourned by throwing down<sup>5</sup> food as is the rule of pigeon-fanciers. On this day people could not keep up with him, and so he was obliged to halt. Meanwhile Mīr Abū-l-qāsim Tamkīn<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I think this must be Bhaniyār on right bank of Harpatkai river at its junction with the Jhelam. It is east of Urī and is famous for its temple. But it is on the left bank of the Jhelam.

<sup>2</sup> Dajan دجن is a clerical error for Dacan and the compound word Dajankhārū appears to be a mistake for Dacan-khāwar, i.e. right and left. See J. II. 359, n. 2, who says: "On the Bihat river, below Bārahmūla, the subdivision of Dachin lies to the north, and that of Kāwar to the south of the stream." Upon the meaning of Dacan or Daksina see Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, p. 170, n.

<sup>3</sup> The Kokararmast of Elphinstone's map. I.O. MS. 236 has Mast-Kūār. Jahāngīr entered Kashmīr by the Pakhlī route in the 15th year of his reign, and gives an itinerary. He mentions Kūārmast or Kūārmast کوارمت Tūzuk 294, and describes it as the hardest of all the passes on the road, and also as the last on the

way to Kashmīr. After crossing it he came to the village of Waca.\* The next stage was the village of Baltūr. Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, Extra No. 2, pp. 82-87, should be consulted about the Pakhli or Jhelam route.

<sup>4</sup> It is Paipara in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Such seems to be the meaning of the text which has بالقاء آش *ba ilqāi āsh*. But the reading is doubtful. I.O. MS. 236 has *ba adāi āsh-i-palk* and No. 23 has *ashk* "tears"; *palk* means the eyelids, and possibly the meaning is that Akbar shed tears. But *pulk* means kidneys, and perhaps *āsh pulk* may mean kidney-soup. All the MSS. seem to have *adai* and not *ilqāi*, and *adar* would agree better with weeping than *ilqāi*. *Ashkī* "the weeper" was the name of one of Akbar's famous pigeons. B. 299.

<sup>6</sup> So in text, but Namakīn is the true reading. It was a nickname given him because he presented

\* Perhaps the final letter is a D and the place is the Datchi of the maps,



came from Swād and did homage. He brought with him Kālū Afghān, who had fled and had been at the bottom of the disturbance of the Yūsufzai. When the victorious troops surrounded that hill country, and the position of the recalcitrants became difficult, every section of them took refuge with one of the officers. This evil-doer made the Mīr the means of his deliverance. H.M. sent this man who was worthy of death to the school of the prison. At dawn he resumed his march, and after travelling  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 26 poles through defiles he halted near Buliās.<sup>1</sup> This is the end of the country of Kashmīr and the beginning of the territory of Mastang.<sup>2</sup> This name is applied to the country from Buliās to the Kishen Gang. S. Ism'aīl, in whose sanctity the Yūsufzai tribe believe, and to whom they impute miracles, came and did homage. Perhaps the sins of the tribe might be forgiven by his intercession! On this day a large sum was made over to Mīr 'Ārif Ardabīlī in order that he might send it to the indigent in Tibet. Ḥakīm Abū-l-fath suffered from diarrhoea and was in great pain. H.M. cast the shadow of his graciousness over him, and comforted him. Next morning he again marched and travelled four kos, passing through the Būliās pass and encamping near Naupara.<sup>3</sup> The road was almost unparalleled for difficulty, narrowness, and heights and hollows. On this day he went to the Ḥakīm's quarters and encouraged him. Next day he travelled 4 kos, 10 poles and encamped near Barka<sup>4</sup> (?). Sultān Ḥusain<sup>5</sup> Paklīwāl came forward with presents, and was received with favour. On 1 Shahrīy-war, Divine month, 11 August 1589, he crossed the Kishen Gang by a bridge, and after travelling  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 82 poles encamped near Sīkrī.<sup>6</sup>

Akbar with a plate and cup made out of rock-salt. B. 470.

<sup>1</sup> The Peliāsa of the maps. Stein 86 calls it Būliāsa and identifies it with the ancient Bolyāsaka. It is six marches from Abbottabad. See also Tūzuk 292.

<sup>2</sup> Variant Pushang. There are both a Pushang and a Mastang east of Qandahar, J. II. 396, but neither can be the country here spoken of. I.O. MS. 236 appears to have Hainak here and Shāhbang lower down. B.M.

Add. MS. 27,247 has *سنگو* Saha-sak?

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Naoshera of Stein's map, west of Būliāsa and near Dopatta.

<sup>4</sup> I.O. MS. 236 Parka.

<sup>5</sup> B. 454 and 501. He was descended from Timūr's Qārlūqs. He is mentioned in the Tūzuk, p. 290. When Jahāngīr saw him (in 1619) he was 70 years old.

<sup>6</sup> I.O. MS. 236 Sank ī. Add. 27,247 B.M. MS. has Sīkrī.



It is a fine river with clear and wholesome and very cold water. It rushes down from the foot of Tibet. The country from this stream to the Paklī river (the Sirān) is called Mastang.<sup>1</sup> Up to this point H.M. had followed the river Bihat. Next day a formidable pass,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kos long, was traversed, and the encampment was made near the Nain Sukh<sup>2</sup> river. This was not inferior to the previous river in the sweetness and wholesomeness of its waters. Some thought it to be superior. Qāsim K. was sent on to look after the bridging of the Indus. After one day H.M. passed the defiles of Batrās.<sup>3</sup> He travelled 5 kos, 30 poles and encamped near Gahī, a dependency of Paklī. Here a plain became visible, and provisions after being very dear were now cheap. Sultān Husain prayed that his house might be illuminated by the advent of H.M., and his request was graciously granted. Next day  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 80 poles were traversed, and a halt was made near Dādhāl.<sup>4</sup> Next day 3 kos, 90 poles were traversed, and the encampment was at Garhasa. Shahrukh, the landowner of Damtūr,<sup>5</sup> 560 came and did homage. As the Hakīm was in much pain, a halt was ordered. On the night of 7th Shahriyār, Divine month, 18th August, 1589, that adorning of the garden of acuteness, farsighted, awakened-hearted, and wise-brained one, expired. He stepped aside from this place of trouble. He retained his senses to the last, and the commotion of death did not terrify him. How shall I describe the grief which the holy heart felt at this calamity! Though the grief of great and small may be comprehended, how can the state of that appreciative one of the banquet of enlightenment be understood! There were combined in the deceased loyalty, tact, benevolence, eloquence, good looks, dignity, God-given gravity, innate kindness, and profound wisdom. In accordance with orders, Khwāja

<sup>1</sup> Shahbang in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngir, Tūzuk 291, says it was Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who called this river Nain Sukh, "The delight of the eyes." It is also known as the Kunhār. See Panjab Gazetteer, Hazāra district, and Elliot VI. 372 and I.S. VIII. 365.

<sup>3</sup> Sirās or Tirās in B.M. Add. 26,247. Name omitted in I.O. MS.

236. Perhaps it is the Batrassigali west of Garhi Ḥabībullah of the Hazāra Gazetteer, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Dodyal, 25 miles from Abbottabad.

<sup>5</sup> B. 524 and Tūzuk 290. Dantūr or Dhantūr, the Dhamtaur of the map, lies on the right bank of the Dor near Naushahrah. It is some five miles east of Abbottabad.



Shamsu-d-dīn and a number of others conveyed his body to Hasan<sup>1</sup> Abdāl and committed it to earth under a dome which the Khawāja had made. I, Abul Faḡl, the writer of the book of fortune, had thought that I had emerged from the thornbrake of restlessness and had chosen the pleasant abode of contentment and tranquillity. On that<sup>2</sup> day the veil was withdrawn, and I nearly fell into the turmoil of agitation. He (Abu-l-Faḡh) acquired eternal bliss and yielded up a borrowed life at the feet of his master. I hope that all his servants, whether far or near, may surrender their brief lives in his presence. The king of poets, S. Faizī, wrote an elegy about Azdu-d-daulah and the Hakīm. I give some verses from it and so empty my heart.

(Here follow Faizī's verses, 200 lines. The five lines quoted by Badayūni, Lowe 382, are not among them. Apparently Faizī wrote two poems, one about Faḡhullah only, and one about him and Abū l-Faḡh.)

564 Next day he travelled  $4\frac{3}{4}$  kos,<sup>3</sup> 8 poles—the road being very

<sup>1</sup> See Elliot VI. 311 and note, which states that the tomb still exists.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is obscure, but I think A. F. means that the loss of his friend nearly deprived him of the power of self-restraint. It withdrew the veil over action or conduct, i.e. laid bare his inmost feelings. Cf. the translation at p. 660 of the Darbār Akbarī. It has helped me to understand the passage. Faizī's verses were evidently inserted at a subsequent recension of the Akbarnama for they do not occur in B.M. Add. 27,247. There we have instead a few lines from Nizāmī. In that MS., the date of Abdul Faḡh's death is given as 19 Shawāl, after two watches of the day had passed. The corresponding A.D. date would be 21st August, 1589. In MS. B.M. 27,247 the wording of A.F.'s reflections is somewhat different. The words there are: " *Ān rūṣ parḍa-i-kār aṣ rūṣ-i-ao*

*barḡhāsta nazdīk būd ke ba ḡhāristān-ṣūrat jazā ḡhud kashān rafta.*" "On that day the veil was removed, and I was nearly falling out with external things." A. F.'s remark about Abul Faḡh's not being really a subject of regret is paralleled by the concluding lines of Faizī's ode. This poem is finer than that on Kashmīr and shows real feeling. In the first book of A. F.'s letters, p. 43 of the Newal Kishore edition, there is a letter of Akbar to Hakīm Hamām, telling him of his brother's death. It is dated from the bank of the Indus, 28th Shawwāl 997 (30th August, 1589). It gives the date of the death as the day of Murdād 7th Shahrīyūr 34th year (night of Thursday 19th Shawwāl 997).

<sup>3</sup> The variant 88 poles is supported by I.O. MS. 236. This omits the quarter kos and makes the stage  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos, 88 poles.



narrow and full of streams—and encamped at Dahakārī.<sup>1</sup> Next day he started at dawn and travelled  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos, 80 poles and halted between Khorā<sup>2</sup> and Mānikzhāla,<sup>3</sup> which is a seat of the Dilazāks. Next day he travelled  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos and halted near Sherkhān. Next morning he travelled 4 kos and halted near the Serai of Saiyid Pīr Sabz.<sup>4</sup> Here M. Yūsuf K. took leave and returned to Kashmīr. Next day he passed Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and halted near the serai of Zainu-d-dīn ‘Alī. On that day he travelled  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 50 poles. Next morning he crossed the river Tarābardī,<sup>5</sup> and passed the serai of Bahādur and halted. The march was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos. On 14th Shahryūr, 24th August 1589, 565 he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos and encamped by the river Indus near Atak-Benares. From Srīnagar to this place is 96 kos, 77 poles. Here Zain K. Koka, Qāsim K. and Shahbāz K. had the felicity of doing homage. Next day Prince Sultān Murād came with the ladies<sup>6</sup> and did homage. Rai Rai Singh and many others paid their respects. On the 16th Sādiq K. did homage. He had according to orders hastened to the Presence. He was sent off to chastise the Afghans, and he came to Swāt by the pass of Malkand. Shāh Beg K., Shāhim K., Jānish Bahādur, Aḥmad Beg, Takhta Beg, and other heroes joined him. By the power of planning and courage, the Afghans were reduced to obedience, and Swād became somewhat populated. At this time Mīr Murād, in the exercise of his duties as sazāwal,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it is Dastkārī in B.M. Add. MSS. 27,247. Perhaps it is the Dhamuk of Elliot VI. 308 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. 27,247 has Kahwār. But khar seems the proper word.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this is Mānikyāla, famous for its Buddhist tope. See I. G. IX. It seems that it was first described by Mountstuart Elphinstone in his book on Kabul. The text has *ke aurang nishīn ast*, “Which is a capital.” But Mānikyāla apparently never was a capital, and the reading of the two I.O. MSS. agrees with the B.M. MS., viz. *Dilzāk nishīn*. The Cawnpore ed. has “which is a remain of antiquity”—*ke wa guzāsht peshīn ast*

If the place be really Mānikyāla, Akbar must have gone a good deal out of his way, for Manikyāla lies considerably to the east.

<sup>4</sup> The text omits the words Pīr Sabz, but the variant gives these, and they occur in the I.O. MSS. Perhaps it is the Sawajpeer of the map, N. of Ḥasan Abdāl.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the I.O. MSS. have Aḥmadī. Perhaps however the Haroh is meant. B.M. MS. 27,247 seems to have Hardo. For the Haroh see I. G.

<sup>6</sup> They had been at Rohtās, and B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 states that they came from there.



brought Shahbāz K. to Atak Benares. Ṣādiq K. being apprehensive <sup>1</sup> that he would meet him, went off very quickly.

<sup>1</sup> Ṣādiq K. and Shahbāz were on bad terms and so would avoid one another. But there is some confusion in the account and there are variations in the MSS. We are told here that Shahbāz was being brought by Mīr Murād to Attock. But a little above it is mentioned that Shahbāz had the happiness of doing homage at Attock two days before Ṣādiq. At p. 547 we see that Shahbāz had been escorted to Swād by Mīr Murād. I.O. MS. 235 and the Cawnpore ed. make Shahbāz go off quickly in order to avoid Ṣādiq. The text and I.O. MS. 236 make Ṣādiq go off quickly in order to avoid Shahbāz. Perhaps the Shahbāz first mentioned was not Shahbāz Kam-bhir. There was a Shahbāz K. who was Collector of Rewārī, III. 557, who apparently was not the Kam-bhā.

*Note.*

Paklī or Pakhlī is not mentioned in the I.G. It is called a Sarkār in the Āīn and is described at J. II. 390. This account is copied by Jahāngīr, Tāzūk 290, who entered Kashmīr by this route in the 14th year of his

reign, 1619-20. See Elliot VI. 367-73. According to Haidar Malik, it was he who suggested this route to the emperor, but it must have been well known to the Moghuls, as Akbar used it twice. Baron Hügel's statement that the Pakhlī route was not properly opened out till the 18th century, Stein 83 n., does not seem to be correct. Paklī now forms part of the Hazāra district and is frequently mentioned in the Hazāra Gazetteer. It is watered by the Sirān river. It is also shown in the curious map of Kashmīr prepared by Captain Gentil and published in Vol. III of Langlés' translation of Forster's Travels, Paris 1802. Forster travelled by Bāramūlah when leaving Kashmīr in June-July 1783. He must have followed Akbar's route for most of the way, for he too came out at Attock, but he did not go through Paklī on account of the evil reputation of the inhabitants. He went by Jiddun, which appears to be the Gudoon of the map, and is to the south of Bannū. Elphinstone II. 8 speaks of the Judoon tribe as holding Dhantour, a narrow valley along the Door.



## CHAPTER CI.

## EXPEDITION TO AFGHANISTAN (ZĀBULISTĀN).

As H.M.'s holy design was to pacify that country and to cherish the old<sup>1</sup> proprietors, he on 19th Shahriyār, 31st August 1589, crossed over by the bridge which had been constructed below Attock. He marched 28<sup>2</sup> bambus and halted near the Sarai of Khairābād. The elephant establishment, the park of Artillery, and the great camp were left in Attock. Those who were wearied with the journey, and those who loved the shade, and their homes, expected that after such troublesome journies H.M. would not go to Kabul, and that his only design was to hunt and recreate himself on the bank of the Indus. On this day Shahbāz K. obtained leave to go to Swād. After three (days) halts he marched 3 *kos*, 25 bambus and halted near Elias-garha. News came that Husain Pakliwāl had fled. When the imperial officers made some representations about the large revenues of that territory (*Paklī*), the clown fell into evil thoughts and went off to his home on the same day that the royal standards crossed the Indus. On this account H.M. on the 23rd made over Paklī and its neighbourhood to Husain Beg S. Ūmarī as his fief and sent him off there. By the might of fortune he prevailed over it, and that land-owner received his chastisement. On the 27th when the camp was near Gorkhatra, Shāh Beg came from Swād, and on the way had the bliss of having an audience. At his request H.M. visited Begrām which

<sup>1</sup> *Nau ākhtan babārī būmīān*. Bābari is properly bāirī, and means old. It has nothing to do with Bābur or with the Bauboor tribe of Elphinstone II. 69. In B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 the motive given for visiting Kabul was to see the ancestral home.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  *kos*, 28 poles, and this is probably correct. This MS. has the advan-

tage of always giving the Hijrī date as well as the Persian month and day. Here it says that Akbar crossed over on the last day of Shawwāl (997) (31st August, 1589). It also says that the bridge was placed above Attock. The same MS., which is evidently from an earlier recension, gives the stages of the journey through the Khaibar.



was in his fief. An order was given to the writer that he should go there, and give presents to the hermits. Thousands of needy persons **566** received their portions, and the treasure-house of prayers was filled. On 1st Mihr, 11th September, he traversed the Khaibar and halted at Daka. Qāsim had so improved the road, which camels and horses used to traverse with difficulty, that carts passed through easily. On the 4th Karam Ullah came from Mālwa, and did homage near Khwāja Yāqūt Sarai. At the stage of Safed Sang the idea of travelling rapidly presented itself. As the time of the autumnal<sup>1</sup> colouring of Kabul was approaching, he left the great camp under the charge of Prince Murād, to come on slowly, and at the close<sup>2</sup> of the 8th, he urged on his steed. At midday he rested near Bārīk Āb. On the way Ḥakīm Ḥamām came from Turān, and prostrated himself. In compassion for him H.M. said with his pearl-dropping tongue: "One brother has gone from the world for you, and for us, ten."

<sup>3</sup> Verse.

From the point of eyesight one person is less,  
From the point of wisdom, more than thousands.

When his heart had been consoled by the Shāhinshāh's help, the Ḥakīm conveyed the praise and supplications of the ruler of Turān. He (Abdullah)<sup>4</sup> represented that the taking of Herat and the conquest of Khurasan were due to the blessed influence of his devotion to

<sup>1</sup> This sentence appears in a simpler form in B.M. MS. Add. 27,247. There it is said that "As the autumn of Kabul—which is equal to the spring of other countries—was at hand," H.M. resolved to hasten on. Cf. J. II. 408 where A. F. speaks of the matchless beauty of the autumn in the Dāman-i-Koh.

<sup>2</sup> The B.M. MS. above mentioned says Akbar started at the close of the day and travelled all night and up to the middle of next day. The date given is 8th Mihr = Saturday 19th Zī-l-q'ada = 19th September. On this occasion he travelled 13½ kos, 40 bam-

bus, and reached Bārīk-Āb. Before he reached Jajdalak, Ḥakīm Ḥamām met him, having come on in advance of his companions on hearing of the death of his brother. They remained in Kabul.

<sup>3</sup> These lines are also quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe 383.

<sup>4</sup> 'Abdullah conquered Khurāsān in 1589. His message is somewhat differently worded in Add. 27,247. After meeting Ḥakīm Ḥamām, Akbar started again at midnight and travelled 10¼ kos, 46 bambus, and reached Kabul on the day of Ābān 10th Mihr = Monday 21st Zī-l-qāda,



the world's lord. He was sending Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq, who was one of his confidants, with gifts and compliments. He and Mīr Ṣadr Jahān were following. On this day the villagers came in crowds to perform the *kornish* and gained their wish. When half the night had passed, he renewed his journey, and on the 10th<sup>1</sup> he illuminated Kabul by his advent. On the whole way, Turks and Tājiks came forward on both sides with presents and offerings. On this day too Mīr Ṣadr Jahān paid his respects. From Attock-Benares to Kabul is  $92\frac{3}{4}$  kos, 41 poles, and they were traversed in 21 days and 18 marches. He took up his quarters in the citadel and enjoyed the gardens and the plain. He proclaimed benevolence to great and small, and every day, while he was in the city, a crowd partook of his bounty. On the 15th Prince Murād arrived with the family and household. At the end of the day he came down from the citadel and halted at the hall which had been erected near the Safed Sang. At dawn, as it was a feast day, he indulged in some splendour, and there was a daily market of giving. Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq had an audience, and presented the letter and the choice products of his country. Ḥakīm Ḥamām represented that on 16th Āzar of the previous year a wonderful thing had happened in Turān. Up to the end of the evening there were such death-cries of birds that even the loveless hearts of hunters were pained. At dawn there were seen in every field near Bukhāra, ducks, swans, geese, 567 storks, etc., lying dead or wounded or with broken breasts and scattered feathers. Likewise on the banks of Lake Kūrāk many thousand animals were lying dead, and persons who came from the Oxus and its neighbourhood made similar reports. Crowds of men with carts, camels and horses, carried off loads of them to their houses, and for six months ate their flesh, and supplied lamps with their fat. The Turāniān ambassador represented that 'Abdullah K. had assembled able men and made enquiries. As there was no ice or snow, they were unable to give any explanation. Some said it appeared that an army of owls must have passed by. Others suggested that it was a hunting animal called a Ṣadāīq.<sup>2</sup> It was not improbable that such destruction of life had been caused by it. It had no equal

<sup>1</sup> The T. Akbarī has 22 Zī-l-q'aada (3rd October). A. F. has 10th Mihr (corresponding to 21st September).

<sup>2</sup> صدایق. Not in dictionary. I.O. MSS. have *badāīq* or *padāīq*. Apparently, a fabulous bird.



among birds for strength. They also mentioned that one of the birds was wearied out with flying and was panting. A chief huntsman went up to it and bound it with a cuirass (*bandizarah*). When the bird had rested, it removed the bands and flew off, and disappeared from sight. After a while the cuirass fell to the ground on the plain.

On the 17th H.M. went to the Jahān Ārā garden, and he also had some sport in hunting. Next day, at dawn, he went to see the houses of the Aimāqs. Every one of them was gratified with money and goods.

On the 21st he marched from the Safed Sang plain, and halted at Khwāja Ḥasan's garden, which was distinguished for space and delightsomeness. M. Sanjar, M. Bāshī, Shādmān, and other Hazāra leaders, who seldom came to the city, visited the court and by the favours conferred on them emerged from their shyness.

One of the occurrences was the giving leave to Rajah Todar Mal to betake himself to the fields of freedom, and then his being recalled. On this day a petition came from him to the effect that old age and sickness had prevailed over him, and that apparently he was near his end. He prayed for permission to resign in order that he might go to the bank of the Ganges, and spend his last breaths in remembering God. H. M. in accordance with his request sent an order and expressed the hope that his spirit might obtain relief by this means. Afterwards admonitions were sent to the effect that no worship of God was equal to the soothing of the oppressed, and that it would be better for him to give up his idea (of retirement) and to spend his last breath in serving man, and to make that the provision for his final journey. On the 25th Qāzī 'Abdu-s-Sammī' came from Lahore and paid his respects. On 2nd Ābān H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and small and great obtained their desires. Next day he went to the Shāhr-ārā garden and from there he went to the cemetery (*guzargāh*) and visited the tomb of Firdūs Makānī. He also grieved over the tombs of M. Hindāl and M. Ḥakīm who sleep near at hand. He **568** ordered Qāsim K. to make a beautiful garden there. He rejoiced the inhabitants of that place by many gifts. On the 9th he enjoyed the variegated hues of autumn at Māmā Khātūn and spent some time in enjoyment at the garden of Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain.



At night he reposed in the quarters of Khwāja Ḥasan. Next day he enjoyed hare<sup>1</sup> hunting, and then returned.

One occurrence was the arrival of Miriām Makānī. As her desire to behold H.M. made her uneasy, she set off for Kashmīr, and Gulbadan Begam and many other ladies accompanied her. Hearing that H.M. had gone to Kabul, they followed him there. In accordance with his excellent rule, he first sent Prince Daniel and some officers (to meet her) and afterwards Prince Murād, and finally the Prince Royal Sultan Salīm.

On the 13th he himself received her near Begrām (the Kabul Begrām), and on the same day conveyed them to special quarters. There was a choice feast.

One of the occurrences was the expedition of Burhān-ul-Mulk to the Deccan and his returning unsuccessful. When the Shāhinshāh's order reached Khān Ā'zim M. Koka, he prepared to accompany Burhān with a chosen army. As the latter had evil thoughts in his head he declined this. He said that the Deccanīs would not join him on account of his having a large force, and that the presence of an army would make an easy matter difficult. Accordingly, he only took with him Caghātāi K., Canda K., and a few others with 1000 horse and 300 musketeers. He came to Birār by the route of Kālī Bhīt. He left Elichpūr on right and hastened on to Dānāpūr. Jahāngīr K. thānadār and some others came to him with fawning words, but their companions did not do so, and gave battle. There was a slight engagement. Suddenly, a bullet reached Caghātāi K. and he was killed. Canda was wounded and made prisoner. Burhān received the retribution of his evil thoughts, and returned unsuccessful to Mālwa.

One occurrence was the birth<sup>2</sup> of Sultan Parviz. On 19th Ābān after 9½ hours he was born in the apartment of Prince Selīm by the daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan, the paternal uncle of Zain Kokaltāsh. There was great rejoicing.

<sup>1</sup> *Shikār-i-tushqān ramā*. But the I.O. MSS. show that the true reading is *tūshqāwal*, for which see Vol. I. 496, n. 3 of translation of A.N. Rama is Zama in I.O. MS. 236, and probably this is right, for Zama was a village

N. Kabul. See A.N.I. 597, n. 2 (translation).

<sup>2</sup> The birth took place in Kabul. Cf. *Tūzuk* J.8. The mother's title was *Ṣāhib Jamāl* (Mistress of Beauty).



(Verse.)

- 569** The world's lord gave the above name to this bright star.  
It is hoped that he will live and be exalted by being cherished  
by the Shahīnshah.

On the 25th Mullā Tālib-Mihtar Yārī and M. Beg came back from Tibet and had an audience. They brought an envoy (*wakhshūr*) from there together with presents.



## CHAPTER CII.

RETURN OF THE AUGUST STANDARDS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM  
KABUL.

H.M. enjoyed himself in Kabul and gave pleasure to small and great. His idea was that the active young men should behold the spectacle of the falling of snow, and should tread the ice, and that the natives of India might enjoy this. But as his might had confused the people of Turān, and had awakened them from the sleep of repose, he had compassion on them and resolved to go to India. He marched on 4th<sup>1</sup> Āzār (November), and camped at Safed Sang. On the way it appeared that a base fellow had dishonoured a peasant's daughter and so he was capitally punished. Sharīf K.,<sup>2</sup> the son of M. 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the calligrapher (*Shīrīnqalm*), had been in the plot with him, and was also punished. This was a lesson to those who are apt to go astray. On this day Qāsim was appointed governor of Kabul. On the 10th he encamped near Begrām. It was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 28th Ābān (8th November, 1589). His life had passed in loyalty and pru-

<sup>1</sup> The T. A. Elliot, V. 458, states that Akbar arrived in the city of Kabul on 22 Zīl-q'aada 997 (3rd October, 1589) and that he stayed there two months. It adds that he left on 8 Muḥarram, but as this would make his stay only 1½ months, 8 is probably a mistake for 20, which appears in the Newal Kishore ed. 20th Muḥarram 998 corresponds to 19th November 1598. A.F. says Akbar left the city on 4th Āzār, which corresponds to 14th or 15th November, but on that day he only went to Safed Sang, in the environs. On the 10th Āzār or 21st November he went to Begrām.

<sup>2</sup> Sharīf was a great friend of Jahāngīr's. See B. 517 and Price's Jahāngīr's Memoirs, 18; also the Tūzuk, Rogers' translation, p. 14, etc. The story is more fully told in the Iqbāl-nāma, which says that on the march a man came and complained that a camp follower had dishonoured his daughter. An inquiry was held, and the man was executed. Sharīf, who was the cause of the crime, was beaten with the hand (?), and put in prison. He became Amīr-ul-Umarā under Jahāngīr.



dence. When the order giving him leave arrived, he went towards Hardwār with a sound mind and a distressed body. The order of recall reached him at the pond he had made near Lahore. As he considered disobedience to H.M. displeasing to God, he returned, and died on the eleventh day (of Muḥarram) afterwards. He was the unique of the Age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs, and the administration of India. If he had not had bigotry, conventionalism, and spite (*kīnatozī*), and had not stuck <sup>1</sup> to his own opinions, he would have been one of the spiritually great. A wound was given to disinterested work (by his death), and the market of business lost its briskness. I grant that an honest man (*dīānatwar*) might be found, though he would be a fellow-nestling with the phoenix (*‘anqā*), but by what charm or talisman could he acquire the influence (*ī‘timād*) which is so seldom given to mortals? <sup>2</sup>

On the 13th the great tent was erected on the camp. On the way there was ice on the ground, and H.M. trod upon it. Many  
**570** active young men followed him. As it appeared that there was little wood in front, H.M. ordered that high and low should gather sticks. All obeyed the order, and with excellent results.<sup>3</sup>

On this day <sup>4</sup> the Khan-Khānan (Bairām's son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm) produced before the august Presence the Memoirs of Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) which he had rendered into Persian out of the Turkī, and received great praise.

<sup>1</sup> *Bar gufta khud natanīda*.—Literally, "had not twisted things to his own speech."

<sup>2</sup> A. F.'s character of Todar Mal should be compared with B. 32 note, and 351, with the Maagīru-l-Umarā II. 123, and the Darbār Akbarī 519. The Maagīr, p. 127 l.c., says Aurangzīb stated that he had heard from his father that Akbar admired Todar Mal's abilities, but objected to his self-confidence. Shah Jahan also stated that A.F. disliked Todar Mal, and tried to injure him. Badayūnī's amusing verses about Todar Mal's

death have been well translated by Mr. Lowe, p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from Mrs. Rijnhart's book on Tibet that it is a practice with the Tibetans to pick up firewood on the march, and put it into their gowns.

<sup>4</sup> 13th Āzar would be about 24th November, 1589, or 25th Muharam, 998. For a discussion of the question of who translated Bābur's Memoirs see Asiatic Quarterly, July and October, 1900. The Darbār Akbarī 642 ridicules the idea that Abdu-r-Raḥīm personally translated the Memoirs.



On the 15th, at Bārīk Āb, news came that Rajah Bhagwant Dās had died. H.M., from his being the sovereign of the social world, was somewhat grieved at this. The Rajah had been at the cremation of Rajah Todar Mal, and when he returned to his house, he vomited and had an attack of strangury. After five days he departed from this world on 3rd Āzar (13th or 14th November, 1589). He was endowed with uprightness, weight of counsel, and courage. His son<sup>1</sup> Kuar Mān Singh received the title of Rajah and the rank of 5,000. It appears that H.M. had an intimation of the approaching ends of those two officers. When he went on expeditions he (as a rule) did not leave more than two high officers in the capital, and he had arranged that Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Rajah Todar Mal should be in the capital of Lahore. On the very day of the march, Qulīj K. was also sent off. On this day the mystery<sup>2</sup> was made plain.

One of the occurrences was the holding of a *qamargha* hunt in the plain of Arzana<sup>3</sup> (?). When the victorious standards reached Gandamak, the thought of the chase occurred to H.M. An order was given that the officers should arrange the stations. Next day he passed from the Bāgh Wafā and came to Kūshkul (?). By the route of Pātāq he passed by the desert-dwelling Arabs,<sup>4</sup> and to every one of them were money and goods distributed. From there he came to the village of Bihār, which was inhabited in the time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and he ordered that it should be revived, and that a fort should be made there. He gave it the name of *Shahbāz* (variant *Sahā*). On this day *Shāh Beg K.* arrived from Swād and was graciously received. On the 19th, N'iamat K. died. He had the title of Mullā Mīr<sup>5</sup> and led a good life. On account of

<sup>1</sup> That is, the adopted son. It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that he was really Bhagwān's brother's son.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to p. 537 where we are told that Qulīj K. was put in charge of Lahore along with the two Rajahs. This was contrary to the usual practice of only leaving two officers in charge, and the change is attributed by A. F. to Akbar's premonition that they would die.

<sup>3</sup> There are several names of places in this paragraph which I cannot identify. Gandamak of course is well known.

<sup>4</sup> The 'Arab (عرب) is mentioned as a wild tribe in Afghanistan, J. II. 403.

<sup>5</sup> B. 542. He was a physician, and belonged to Herat.



his intelligence he held the high office of Bakāwal Begī (superintendent of kitchen).

Also during this year Mādhū Singh was sent off in order that he might assist Qulij K. in administrative and financial matters. Next day H.M. encamped near Walīd (?). On the way he enjoyed himself in the Bāgh Ṣafā garden. Next day he halted. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was raised to the office of *Dīwān*, and so had new honour conferred on him. All the officers were sent off in order that they might go to their stations and properly guard them. On one side was Nimla,<sup>1</sup> and on the other side Daka,<sup>2</sup> which is  
**571** a distance of twelve *kos*. And the beasts were driven from the mountains to the plain of Arzana. When the enclosures (*jirgahā*) had been completed, H.M., along with the princes and some intimates, enjoyed the pleasure of hunting on the 27th (*Āzar* = 6th or 7th December). The sport was excellently carried out. On 1st Dai he reached Jalālābād. On the way he visited the Lamghānāt. He passed from the tūmān of Sandaur to Mas'aūdābād.

One of the occurrences was a supplication from Muḥammad Zamān. When 'Abdullah K. seized Kulāb, Shahrūkh's son, who was so called, was made prisoner, and died in confinement. At this time a pretender (*dastānfaroshī*) gave himself out in Qarātagīn as Muḥammad Zamān.<sup>3</sup> He represented that Khwāja Kilān Khwāja, the son of Khwāja Jūībārī,<sup>4</sup> out of kindness to the exalted family, saved him from those who hunted after his life. Another youth had died

<sup>1</sup> Marked on the maps as Neemla, east of Gandamak. There is, or was, a garden here. "From Kuju we passed through the garden of Neemla to Gundamak. This royal garden was in good order, and we halted to admire it. Cypress trees alternate with the chinar or plane; all of them reaching to the height of 100 feet, and, as the Persian verse has it, "holding each other by the hand and rivalling each other in beauty." Burnes' Cabool, 1842, p. 135. A Nimlah is mentioned, B. 57, as a place from which rice was obtained.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the hunting-ground was north of the Kabul river. That river would form one side of the enclosure, and perhaps the Surkh Āb would be another.

<sup>3</sup> See Badayūnī, Lowe, 366 and B. 313, 380. The man was an impostor, and ended by murdering Qāsim K. See Maasīru-l-Umarā III. 65 and A. N. III. 576 and 652.

<sup>4</sup> The Jūībārī Khwājas according to M. Schefer form one of the two branches of the Khwājās. See Ney Elias' Khojas, J.A.S.B. for 1897, Supplement.



in his place. In that hill-country a commotion arose, and Kūlāb and many other places became involved in it. Mahmūd Sultān got ready an army and came to do battle, but was wounded and put to flight. Allah Dād Beg and Nūram Beg were killed. On the 2nd his petition arrived, accompanied by the heads (of the abovenamed two persons). After humble and supplicating expressions it stated that when he had been delivered from the place of danger by the goodness of the Khwāja Kīlān Khwāja he had come to India, and had, after the manner of the liberated, brightened his forehead by prostration at the holy threshold. As he had sworn to the Khwāja that he would not reveal his identity during the latter's lifetime, he had not told his adventures to H.M., but had gone to the Hījāz. Now he had come home and was making war on the Ūzbegs, and was wielding the sword of the world's lord. If H.M. would help him, he could easily sit on his throne. Though the story did not appear to the Shāhinshāh to be true, he made the envoys hopeful and said, "I have made a treaty of concord with the ruler of Turān, and my greatness does not allow of my fighting him; it will be better for you to come to court." He then dismissed the envoys with favours, and sent some money and goods along with them, and was the means of his (M. Zamān) prosperity.

On the 9th he encamped near Allah Baqā. Qāzī 'Alī, who had been put in prison at the instigation of Rajah Todar Mal, was released. Though he was unique<sup>1</sup> for honesty, yet he had failed on account of the high fortune of his enemies. When his helplessness was made clear, H.M. showed him favour. On the 12th he encamped at Bārīk Āb at the Khwāja Yāqūt Serai.

An occurrence was the bestowal of the Vakilship on the Khān-Khānān. As ability and disinterestedness shone on his forehead, he was, on the 13th, raised to this post and Jaunpūr was made his fief. Gujarat was taken from him and given to the Khān A'zīm,<sup>2</sup> from whom Mālwa was taken and given to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad. On 572 the 15th a daughter was born in Lahore to Prince Salīm by the

<sup>1</sup> But see Badayūnī, Lowe, 364. The Iqbāl-nāma speaks of him under the 35th year and says he hailed from Mashhad. B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 calls him s. Mullā Qutbū-d-dīn Jalgū.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī says he spitefully laid Mālwa waste when it was taken from him.



daughter of Dariyā Malbhās.<sup>1</sup> H.M. gave her the name of Daulat Nisā.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. met with an accident and was hurt. On the 18th the camp was at Daka, and while hunting, a hyena came in sight. In that stony place H.M. rode after it. His horse stumbled <sup>2</sup> (?) and he fell from his saddle, and his face struck the stones. High and low received heart-breaking wounds. The lion-hearted one, by God's aid, summoned up strength, and bound up the wounds. The spectators were nearly dying, but H.M. comforted them by encouraging words. Hakīm 'Alī of Gīlān plastered the wounds with oil which he had got from Indian physicians, and on the same day there was an improvement. The grandees were of opinion that he should stay where he was for some days, but he wisely went on. He was carried in a litter. My elder brother S. Abu Faizī made the following verse on the calamity :—

(Here follow 22 lines of verse.)

It was remarked that nine days before this, Narain Miṣr<sup>3</sup> had died in Attock, and Bhīm Nāth in Jalālābad. These two physicians were celebrated throughout India. Casters of omens at court were delighted, regarding the fact as an evidence that H.M. would have  
**573** no more need of doctors. On the 25th he recovered, and sat in the hall of audience. He said that this accident produced a wonderful awakening, and that it occurred to him that if he was about to take the last journey, he was empty-handed. Every one's slumber is proportioned to his awakenedness. A great nature—which is the substance of spiritual and temporal supremacy—is not content save with comprehending the Creator, and thinks itself empty-handed, though in possession of the treasures of Verity. In this way the pain

<sup>1</sup> There are various readings. See B. 477 n. 2. In Price's Jahan-gir, 20, the lady's father is called Darya Komm and described as a powerful Rajah at the foot of the Lahore mountains. The child only lived seven months.

<sup>2</sup> *Basir shud*. Perhaps became exhausted. There is the variant *tand shud*, i.e. galloped off. *Basir shud*

means "came to an end, died." Here it probably means "fell on his head," i.e. stumbled. This is shown by the expression in the Iqbāl-nāma "*Iskandarī khūrda*, i.e. tripped.

<sup>3</sup> B. 544. Text has Miṣr, but the word should be Miṣhar, and represents a Brahman family. Bhīm is Pīm in text.



of seeking after God receives its consummation, and the affliction is succeeded by eternal health. On this day Qāsim K. received leave to go to Kabul, after receiving admirable counsels. Takhta Beg received the fief of Ghaznīn and was allowed leave.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bunīr. The victorious soldiers went off to punish the Yūsafzais, but on account of the strength of the country they could not get there. At this time a petition of Shahbāz came from Swād. On 1st Bahman (11th January, 1590), when there was no intention of fighting, H.M. appeared at dawn in a dream and directed an engagement. Shahbāz obeyed and obtained a victory. The country came into possession, and many of the illfated were slain. 'Alī Muḥ. Alif delivered up his short life in good service.

On the 10th H.M. crossed the Indus by a bridge, and ordered the bakhshīs to cross over the soldiers, division by division (*caukī ba caukī*). Husain Beg S. 'Umarī came with presents from Paklī, and received favours. On this day the writer of the book of fortune became somewhat deranged and fell into great grief. News came that in Lahore on the 5th (Bahman = 15th January, 1590) the mistress of the auspicious lineage and the lady of the family of chastity, to wit, his loving mother, had departed from the unstable world to the heavenly realm.

*Verse.*

When my mother has gone beneath the earth,  
 If I throw dust (*khāk*) on *my* head, what harm (*bāk*) is there?  
 I know that by this increase of tumult  
 Thou wilt not come whence thou hast gone.  
 But what shall I do, for I am impatient.  
 I deceive myself by a subterfuge.  
 You ought to have packed up the goods of life and accompanied  
 her on that journey. Apparently owing to my imperfection  
 such was not heaven's decree, and I had to remain bewildered  
 in the stony tract of impatience.

*Verse.*

Hundreds of thousands of eyes were needed for my heart's anguish  
 That in solitude I might weep with each one of them.



Where was the auspicious sentiment of styling as the "restoration of a deposit" the claim for the restitution of a present, and so not becoming mad at the act of God? yet I possessed, by the power of wisdom, a magazine of advices, and I used to practise the distribution of consolation! The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his favour over me, and these words issued from his pearl-laden tongue: "If (other) inhabitants of the world possessed the grace of permanency, and only one took the path of annihilation, there  
**574** would be no cure for intelligent friends in patience and resignation. But since no one remains long in this inn, why should one suffer the reproach of impatience." My heart was comforted by these cordial words,<sup>1</sup> and I undertook what was proper for the time.

On the 22nd he encamped at the Sarai of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī, and spent two days in the pleasure of hunting. Next day he halted at Hasan Abdāl. He visited the grave of Abu-l-fath and gave vent to his grief. On the 24th Khwājagī Muḥammed Husain left from this station to go to Kabul. On 2nd Isfandārmuz, near Kahuriya news came of the death of Rajah Gopāl Jādūn. He had been appointed

<sup>1</sup> A.F.'s father, and presumably his mother also, came to Lahore in May, 1586. She belonged to a Quraysh family and apparently was a daughter or other near relative of Mīr Rafīu-ud-dīn Ṣafavī of Ij. Cf. B. XVI and J. III. 446. A. F. does not give her name. Blochmann quotes Akbar's remark to A. F. and puts the original in a note, probably because he did not feel quite certain of the meaning. It is certainly an obscure sentence, the difficulty lying in the expression *jiz eké*. B. renders this "only once," which seems to give no meaning. His translation, which is evidently intended to be a free rendering, is: "If the people of the world lived for ever, and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His Will;

but no one lives long in the caravan-serai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation." I conceive the meaning to be: "If permanence were the general lot, and your mother's death an exception, then there would be no means of consoling you, but since all must die, why subject yourself to the reproach of impatience?" "The M'aasur merely quotes the words II. 610 and gives no explanation, but I am glad to see that the author of the Darbār Akbarī, p 470, takes the same view as I do of the *jiz eké*, rendering it "*ek ke sawā*," though he renders the next clause differently, making it to mean "even then the friends would have no remedy but resignation." Possibly *jiz eké* should be *jizagī* and the meaning be "if a portion did not die."



to the charge of Ajmīr, and suddenly died in the city of Bīānā. On the 9th H.M. came to Rohtās,<sup>1</sup> and it was reported to him that Masnad i-‘Ālī Fath K. had died in Oudh. He was a very honest man. As it was the rainy season, Miriam-Makānī expressed the wish that H.M. would rest for some time in this fort. He replied that honour did not allow that he should be in comfort, and the world in trouble. On the 12th he enjoyed a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood. On the 16th he crossed the Jhelam after making bridges in two<sup>2</sup> places near Rasūlpūr. On the 20th, while he was encamped near Hīlān, he met with an accident, and the world was plunged into grief. It was the turn of the elephant Malūl<sup>3</sup> Rai. On account of his bad disposition and of his being mast, H.M. mounted on a female elephant, and advanced<sup>4</sup> thereon. Before he had put his foot into the kalāwa (the rope which forms the mahout's stirrup) the furious animal ran at the female. The royal rider fell to the ground (threw himself off?). Though the Divine Protector made the turbulent brute blind, and took him to the other side, yet the fall produced some insensibility in His Majesty.

*Verse.*

I went to the elephant to slay him with my sword.

He said, "Hear first my excellent excuse :

"I'm not the Earth-Ox that I can carry the world,

Nor the fourth heaven that I can draw the sun."

At the time none of the devoted followers was able to be present. There was a wonderful exhibition of destiny. How could harm accrue to one who believed justly and walked wisely? There had been no impropriety that the thing could be considered as a retribution. Nor had he trod the path of negligence so that this might be taken as an awakening message. If the might of God be

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<sup>1</sup> Text Rahnās.

<sup>2</sup> The making of two bridges is referred to again at p. 575, line 5. Hīlān is a ferry on the Jhelam. See B. 127 and note, and also 360.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Malūl Rūi, i.e. "Sulky," is not the elephant's name, but refers to his disposition.

<sup>4</sup> *Bar farāz-i-ān barāmid*. Perhaps this means, Came on to the neck of the female elephant. It is supposed that no elephant, however *mast*, will attack a female.



considered and the instances of former saints, this apparently difficult circumstance becomes easy. It will become still easier if we consider with farseeing eyes the ups and downs of affairs. In a short time, H.M. came to himself, and by the power of God he brought the steed of his fortune into the arena. Though he had received wounds in the previous fall (that at Daka), this was more serious.

**575** Sedition-mongers spread improper reports, and many remote parganas were plundered.<sup>1</sup> When he came to his camp, he was in great pain. Physicians assembled, and held a consultation. He did not approve of any of their remedies, and said, "Apparently, it will be good to let blood." Skilful men opened the vein of his arm, and, immediately, he obtained relief. Out of wisdom he did not halt, but crossed the Cināb by the two bridges at the passage of Bānī Kābīn. Next morning he recovered, and went on by elephant. Next day he was attacked on the road by a pain in his abdomen, and for a time his servants were distressed. He soon got well. On the 25th near Amnābād, Qulīj K. and Mādhū Singh did homage. From the day that he crossed the Cināb, every day crowds of servants came and paid their respects. At this stage many had this bliss. On the 29th at two *kos* from Lahore he held an elephant review. To every one of them he gave something to eat. When the turn of one of them came, he said that it appeared that the driver was a slave.<sup>2</sup> He (the driver) did not admit the fact. The elephant refrained from eating. When an inquiry was made, and the driver admitted the fact, the beast resumed its eating.

<sup>1</sup> The Rājputs made a disturbance. See Maasir II. 607, second last line, and A. N. III. 577.

<sup>2</sup> *Ghulām*. Possibly the meaning

is that his name was *Ghulām*. The elephant was ashamed at his driver's telling a lie!



## CHAPTER CIII.

BEGINNING OF THE 35TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE  
YEAR BAHMAN OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

In that delightful plain, where he had the design of entering the city and was looking for the chosen hour, the drums of the New Year beat high, and a new joy filled the brain of the Age. Spring came with exultant face, and brought news of the happiness of the State. Though the officers were sent off to adorn the reception-hall in the city, yet that pleasant plain was also decked out.

(Verse.)

On the night of Wednesday, 14th Jamāda-al-awwal 998 (10th or 11th March 1590), after 10 hours and 57 minutes, the Lord of Lights cast his rays on the Sign Aries, and the eleventh year of the third cycle began. The world's lord gave a higher rank to justice and liberality, and the face of joy assumed new splendour. On 2nd Farwardīn he entered the city. From Kabul to Lahore he traversed 196 *kos*, 28 poles, in four months less by two days, and in 53 marches. The whole expedition lasted 10 months, 14 days. He **576** sat on his throne, and prosperity unveiled her countenance. A new day was added to the New Year's day, and a new Spring to the Spring. Every day, a grandee presided at a feast, and there was various joy. On the 10th M. Yūsuf came from Kashmīr, and paid his respects.

One of the occurrences was that Muḥammad Zamān gained a victory over 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sultān, the son of the ruler of Turān. As he claimed to be the son of M. Shahrukh, and regarded himself as one of the loyal servants of the court, he soon gathered together a number of men. He defeated<sup>1</sup> many of the Uzbegs. 'Abdu-l-Mū-

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that the text is wrongly pointed. According to it the meaning is that many Uzbegs

joined M. Zamān to defeat 'Abdu-l-Mūmin.



min marched out to fight with him, and sent on ahead 'Abbās Sultan, Dastam Be, and Ḥamīd Qarāwal and others. They crossed the Amū and made a stockade at Jargān Kūlāb. They thought that the strength of the defiles would be their protection. M. Zamān engaged this advance force and defeated it. In the pursuit, he got near 'Abdu-l-Mūmin, and he was nearly being caught. He escaped by the help of well-wishers.

At this time the peshkash (presents) of Rajah Mān Singh arrived. When he was sent from the court to the province of Bihar, he united ability with courage, and genius with strenuous action. By H.M.'s fortune he administered the province excellently. The refractory became obedient. Pūran Mal of Gīdhaur embarked upon presumption and self-will. The Rajah hastened to his dwelling, and obtained much plunder. Pūran Mal could not preserve the fort which he had regarded as his protection in the day of calamity. The turbulence of his intoxication ended in the lassitude of crop-sickness. He had resort to entreaties, and asked for protection. He produced<sup>1</sup> noted elephants and choice goods, and uttered thanksgivings. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Rajah's brother Candra Bhān. From there he proceeded to attack Rajah Singrām. He submitted and came forward in a proper manner, and presented elephants and rarities. The Rajah returned to Patna, and from there made an expedition against Anant<sup>2</sup> Cerūh (?). He obtained much plunder. At this time his son Jagat Singh did good service. He was keeping watch and ward in the town of Bihar. Suddenly Sultān Qalī Qalmāq and Kackena the wicked, who were among the ingrates of Bengal, stretched out the arm of strife. They went by Ghorāghāt and plundered Tājpūr and Purnea. From there they came to Darbhanga. Farrukh<sup>3</sup> K. failed in courage, and came to Patna. Jagat Singh's happy star made him offer battle, and Farrukh and the other fief-holders took courage and accompanied him. When they came within seven *kos* of Ḥājīpūr the enemy did not see  
**577** in themselves the strength to fight, and fled. Jagat Singh pursued

<sup>1</sup> As pointed out by B., Mān Singh's exploits are recorded by Stewart. See his "Hist. of Bengal," ed. 1813, pp. 180-91. Stewart speaks of Jagat Singh's going to Jessore, I

know not on what authority. Apparently it is a mistake for Tājpūr.

<sup>2</sup> The Maasir II. 162 has Ranpat Cerūh.

<sup>3</sup> B. 480. He was s. Khān Kilān.



them, and their collections fell into his hands. The Rajah sent the valuable parts of the plunder and 54 elephants to court. They were produced before H.M. on the 23rd (Farwardīn).

On the 26th<sup>1</sup> Padre Firmilūn came to court from the port of Goa. Owing to H.M.'s appreciativeness, he received high honour.

<sup>1</sup> 26th Farwardīn 998 corresponds to about 6th April, 1590. I believe the Padre in question to be Leon Grimon who was a sub-deacon of the Greek Church. Perhaps A. F. wrote قرمیلیون Qarmiliyūn and the Q has been changed into an F. The mention of the Padre's being employed to translate Greek books seems to point to his being a Greek, and we know from Du Jarric III. 147 that Grimon was of that nation. Du Jarric adds that he was skilled in Persian and Turkish. The passage has been translated in Elliot VI. 85. See also General Maclagan's paper on Jesuit Missions to Akbar, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 42. The mention of China goods may also point to Leo Grimon, for he seems to have come from China. He was long at Akbar's court, and married in Agra or Lahore. He accompanied Benedict Goes in February, 1603, as far as Kabul, if not to Yārkanḍ. Maclagan quotes Yule as saying that Grimon returned from Kabul, but Du Jarric says he went as far as Yārkanḍ. The question however of who Padre Firmilūn was is not free from doubt. A. F. speaks in text of his coming from Goa, but it would appear from the Father Provincial's letter that Grimon did not come from Goa in the first instance. It speaks of Grimon's turning aside to the Mogul's court while returning to his own country and of Grimon's com-

ing to Goa from the court. Moreover one would not expect a sub-deacon to be called a Padre, and Farmilūn is not a very likely corruption of Leo Grimon. The name really resembles more that of Edward Leioton, Mac-lagan, p. 6. But then Leioton did not come to Lahore till 1591 and Padre Firmilūn's visit was in April 1590. Moreover, Leioton was accompanied by another father, and we should expect him to be also named by A. F. Possibly, A. F. has mixed up the two men Leioton and Grimon. I am inclined to think that the visit in question was Grimon's second visit. He was Akbar's envoy to Goa, and may have returned from there early in 1590, and alone, or at least before Fathers Leioton and Du Vega arrived. Unfortunately neither Akbar's *parwāna*, or safe-conduct, to Grimon, nor his letter to the Fathers, contains the year of writing. The letter only says, "At the commencement of the moon of June." The safe-conduct speaks of the Khān-Khānān's having been directed to look after the safety of the Fathers. This must refer to the time when the Khān-Khānān was in charge of Gujarat, but we know that he, i.e. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, the son of Bairām, was with Akbar near Kabul about the end of November, 1589, and that on the 13th Dai, i.e. 23rd December, 1589, he was made Prime-Minister.



He possessed abundance of sense and knowledge. H.M. made over some quick-witted and intellectual persons to be instructed by him in order that the translation of Greek books might be carried out. Varieties of knowledge were acquired. Also a large number of Fir- inghīs and Armenians arrived and brought with them China cloths and other goods of that country. Some time was spent in admiring them.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance of Paklī. A proprietor named Hindāl crudely assumed the title of Sultān Naṣīr, and was joined by some wicked men. Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī's men did not behave courageously, and so Hindāl took possession of Paklī. H.M. on the 28th ordered Ḥusain to march with many Aimāqs of Badakhshān. In a short time he inflicted punishment (on Hindāl). On 1 Ardībihisht Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram was sent to Mewāt. When H.M. fell from the elephant, some Shaikawatī Rājpūts indulged in evil thoughts, and though their leaders were gathering bliss in H.M.'s service, they plundered Bīrāth,<sup>1</sup> while a party of them oppressed Rewārī. Shahbāz<sup>2</sup> K. the collector of that territory behaved in a cowardly manner, and went off to Kūl (Allyghar). Dīala<sup>3</sup> (?) rose up to plunder, near Mīrtha. On hearing this, Shāh Qulī was sent

On that day the charge of Gujarat was transferred to 'Azīz Koka though the latter does not appear to have gone to Gujarat (see A. N. III. 593) till June 1590, and Rai Rai Singh, if he be the Captain Raizza, did not go to Bikanir till 1590. The Provincial's letter is loosely written. Writing in November, 1590, he says it is now nearly nine years since Akbar summoned to his court some Fathers, including Father Acquaviva. But Akbar's embassy reached Goa in 1579, and his letter must have been written earlier, so that in November 1590 more than eleven years had elapsed. Then too the Provincial apparently speaks of enclosing a copy of the letter to the

Viceroy, whereas what we have, Maclagan 61, is a letter to the Fathers. I note here that n. 3, of Maclagan, p. 63, stating that Akbar returned to Lahore in October 1590, is incorrect. He returned from Kashmīr and Kabul early in 1590 and entered Lahore city on the day after New Year, viz. 2nd Farwardin 998 = 12th March, 1590. See Noer's Akbar, translation II. 220.

<sup>1</sup> In Alwār, the Bīrāt or Parāt of J. II, 191. The Iqbāl-nāma calls it Bīrāt and says it has a copper-mine.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably not Shahbāz K. Kambhū.

<sup>3</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma, apparently, calls him Dīpaya, and says he was related to Nāzīr Daulat.



there to chastise the evil-doers. In a short time the thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the world pacified. On the 9th Ghaznīn K. received favour, and was given Jālaur. From the time that he showed recalcitrancy, the Khān-Khānān gave his home to another fiefholder. After some time he came to court, and always waited upon H.M. As repentance was read on his forehead, H.M. restored his old home to him.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and the needy were gratified. On 2nd Khurdād Zain K. Koka was exalted by being made the guardian of Prince Parvīz. That new fruit of the garden of dominion was sent to his house.<sup>2</sup>

On the 4th a great boon was granted by H.M., and numbers of men were comforted. On account of the extent of cultivation, and the goodness of the administration, prices fell very low, and many cultivators were unable to pay the government revenue. In the provinces of Allahābād, Agra, Oudh, Delhi, and the Sarkārs of Sahā-578 ranpur and Budāon, one-eighth was remitted, and in Sarkārs Sirhind and Hiṣār one-tenth. In the Khālṣa (exchequer or crown-lands) this came to 7 krors, 97 lakhs, 81,800 *dāms*. On the 5th a girl<sup>3</sup> was born to Prince Daniel by the daughter of Sultān Khawāja. It is to be hoped that she will become a great lady of the age, and that her advent may increase auspiciousness. On the 10th, Paklī was given to the old proprietor.<sup>4</sup> A long time ago, he had come with his family to court, and had felt ashamed of his former misconduct. At this time news came that Husain<sup>5</sup> Beg had on account of ignorance entered the mountain defiles, and that the wicked Hindāl had prevailed against him. H.M. meditated sending another force under the

<sup>1</sup> See B. 493 and 622, and A. N. III. 472. He had behaved badly when the Khān-Khānān was marching to Gujarāt. His son Pahār was executed by Jahangir for matricide. *Tūzūk* translation, I. 353, and also Errata, do., p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says the prince was made over to Zain K.'s mother who had been Akbar's nurse. Parvīz's mother was Zain K.'s cousin.

<sup>3</sup> The name of this daughter is not given. A sister was born in the 37th year and called S'aīda Bānū Begam. Altogether Daniel had four daughters, A. N. III. 837.

<sup>4</sup> This is Sultān Husain.

<sup>5</sup> This is Husain Beg S. Umarī. He was afterwards cruelly put to death by Jahāngīr.



charge of a qualified person. At this time Prince Selīm begged for Husain's<sup>1</sup> forgiveness and H.M. granted his request. He having gained his object, went home. On the 14th, Dhārū s. Rajah Todar Mal came from Jaunpūr and had an audience, and presented his father's servants. They were suitably rewarded.

On the 28th the envoy of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sultan was drowned. In crossing the Jehlam his boat sank in a whirlpool. Though the letter was not read, some persons represented that in the intoxication of youth he had demanded the Badakhshan Aimāqs who had gone to court. Apparently<sup>2</sup> the celestial managers were guiding that infatuated one. Also on this day Khwājagi Muḥ. Ḥusain and Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad Kāshī came from Kabul, and had the joy of performing kornish.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the wish of H. M. For some days there had been no rain, and the feeble-hearted were distressed. One of his intimates represented that if a request were made of the Almighty, it would be very proper. H. M. replied that the Creator well knew what was good for his servants, and added some

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan Husain of Pākī.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar refers to this in his letter to 'Abdullah, *infra*, p. 706. A note to the Newal Kishore ed. of A. F.'s letters says that Akbar had the messenger drowned because the letter asked for Akbar's daughter in marriage. Neither A. F. nor the Iqbāl-nāma says this, but the latter while stating that 'Abdu-l-Mūmin demanded the surrender of the Aimāqs who had fled, with their families, to Akbar on account of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin's tyranny (Akbar had sent them to Pākī with Ḥusain S. Umar), adds that the letter contained other improper things, and that perhaps the drowning was in accordance with an intimation from Akbar and was just. I am not sure if the author means to suggest that Akbar had the messenger drowned, or that it was a miraculous intervention in

accordance with the secret desire of Akbar. Probably it was an act of insolence for 'Abdu-l-Mūmin to write direct to Akbar, instead of through his father. See also *infra* 583, last paragraph. Yet Akbar received an embassy from Khudā-banda the Governor of Khurāsān during Tahmāsp's lifetime. B. M. MS. 27. 257 gives an abstract of a letter of Akbar's to 'Abdullah in which he says that his court was the asylum of the world, and that he could not surrender any one who took shelter there. As for the proposal of marriage story, it is not likely that 'Abdu-l-Mūmin would make it in a letter in which he was asking for the return of fugitives. Probably the other improper things referred to in the Iqbāl-nāma were complaints of Akbar's supporting M. Zamān.



words which bore <sup>1</sup> the character of knowledge. The other repeated his entreaties, and increased his wishes. H.M. accepted his prayer and on 3 Tīr engaged in prayer. In a short time there was a down-pour, and the world was refreshed.

On the 8th (June 1590) the Khān A'zim M. Koka came to Aḥmadābād. At the end of last year Gujarāt had been taken from the Khān-Khānān and given to him. He, thinking that Mālwa might be better, delayed to go there and petitioned the court. When he came to his senses he went off there, and made proper arrangements.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the crooked Kashmīrīs. On the 16th, Ḥusain, Muḥammad, Abūzaīd Ghāzī, Lohan Cak, Ḥusain Dēv fled from the court with evil intentions. They went by Jammū to the hill-country and took refuge with 'Alī Rīnā. Before they had taken any other steps, the Kashmīr officers seized **579** them, and executed <sup>2</sup> them in the city (Srinagar). It was a source of instruction to foolish thinkers. At this time Qāzī <sup>3</sup> 'Alī was made Nāẓir Biyūtāt. Though Ṣādiq was a skilful major-dorno (Mīr Samān), and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn <sup>4</sup> Beg was diwān, yet as in every department there was much income and expenditure, the more help there was, the better for the work. On this account that skilful and honest man was appointed to this duty. As there was incompatibility between Qulīj and Ṣādiq K., an order was given that Qulīj K. should not interfere in the work of the Biyūtāt.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the request of the Shāhinshāh. Astronomers had represented that on the 23rd <sup>5</sup> there

<sup>1</sup> The text has a negative *bar-natābid*, but this is surely wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Add. 27,247 says 16 Tīr = Sunday 4 Ramazān. This would be 27th June 1590. It adds that the execution took place in Srīnagar and by Akbar's orders, and that the heads were sent to court. There were four men executed.

<sup>3</sup> This is Qāzī 'Alī Bagdādī, the settlement officer of Kashmīr.

<sup>4</sup> B. 508. He was father of Nūr Jahān and is better known as 'Itimādu-d-daula.

<sup>5</sup> 23 Amardād = 1st or 2nd August, 1590. The date however is doubtful. There is the variant 28th and I.O. MS. has *hashtam*, 8th. This looks more likely to be correct as shortly below we have the 13th mentioned. But *hashtam* is written very like *bīstam*, and perhaps this is the true date as L'Art de verifier les dates says there was an annular eclipse of the sun on 31st July, 1590. The account of the affair is differently worded in Add. 27,247. It is there said that some days previously Akbar



would be a total eclipse of the sun. The skilled scientists of India said that if there were rain seven days before or after, no harm would occur from the eclipse. Though they tried, they were unsuccessful (in producing rain). They were ashamed and retired. When the time arrived, H.M. applied himself to supplications to the Incomparable Deity. In a moment (?) clouds gathered, and there was rain until that hour passed away. A world was amazed. H.M. said: "The Almighty has accepted the petition of this suppliant, and has cast a veil over the boastful astronomers. If their statement had been true, the darkness would have increased."

On the 13th Sharīf came from Mālwa, and did homage.

One occurrence was the marriage of 'Abdu-r-Rahmān. Inasmuch as H.M. exalts the writer by varied favours, he wished that his son—who showed quickness and reverence—should be married to one of the good court-families. On the 28th he was united to the niece (brother's daughter) of S'aādat Yārkoka who was distinguished for her chastity. There was a joyous time. I hope that God will open the springs of bounty, and that there will be increase of seed<sup>1</sup> together with auspiciousness and prosperity. On the 30th Qāsim 'Alī came from Khairābad, and had an audience.

One<sup>2</sup> of the occurrences was the return of the victorious soldiers from Orissa after making a peace there. When the province of Bihār had been settled by the ability of Rajah Mān Singh, and the refractory had been reduced to obedience, he at the close of the previous year set before himself the conquest of Orissa by the route of Jhārkhand. He halted near Bhāgalpūr, and made proposals to S'aīd K., the Governor of Bengal, and asked him to accompany him.

580 He, on account of the near approach of the rains, referred the matter to another time. The Rajah, who understood his business, set out

said it would be good if rain came at the time of the eclipse, and hid it. So A. F. was ordered to assemble the Brahmans and see if they could bring about the rain. They could do nothing. Half an hour before the eclipse, clouds gathered. Akbar remarked that perhaps this occurred in order to save the astronomers' credit as in spite of the

clouds the sun was still bright. Apparently this alludes to the fact that the eclipse was not total, and the darkness not complete. This MS. does not give any date for the eclipse.

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdu-r-Rahman was then 20. He had a son, Bishotan, by S'aādat Yār's niece.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 85.



in the beginning of this year by the route of Bardwān. Pahār K., Bābū-i-Mankalī, Rai Patr Dās joined him from Bengal with the artillery. They encamped in Jahānābād.<sup>1</sup> The idea was that when the rains ceased, S'aīd, Makhṣūṣ, and the landholders would join. Qutlū, who was raising the head of presumption in Orissa, came to Dharpūr, 25 kos from the army, and prepared for battle. He sent Bahādur Kūrūh with a large force to Raipūr.<sup>2</sup> The Rajah sent an army under Jagat Singh, and the worthless Bahādur Kurūh took refuge in a fort, and had recourse to cajolery. By devilish tricks he lulled the inexperienced youth into carelessness, and then asked for help from Qutlū. On 10th Khurdād, while Jagat was slumbering from the effects of wine, the wicked Qutlū suddenly fell upon him with a large force and prevailed over him. Qutlū sent Jalāl and many brave men under the command of 'Umar, the brother's son of Mīrū, and son of Kāsū, and Khwāja 'Īsā Vakīl. Though the landholder Ḥamīr warned Jagat of Bahādur's craft and of the dispatch of an army to his assistance, he did not accept the news. After thousands of efforts he sent (was induced to send) some scouts. The enemy entered a forest, and having left their tents and baggage there they hastened on by hidden ways. The short-sighted men who had gone ahead represented that the enemy had encamped, and so increased Jagat's carelessness. At the end of the day the enemy arrived. Owing to the breaking of the thread of deliberation and arrangement, most of the men fled without fighting. A few stood their ground and fought. Bīka Rāhtor, Mohesh Dās, Narū Cāran bravely sacrificed their lives. Though the imperial army was defeated, yet 'Umar K., Mīrū, and the sons of Humayūn Qulī with some of their relations were killed. Ḥamīr brought away that infatuated young man and took him to his quarters at Bishanpūr.<sup>3</sup> A report arose that he was killed. The Rajah held a council, and considered how to remedy matters. Most gave it as their opinion that it was proper to return to Selīmābad, where the families of the soldiers were, and there to prepare for battle. Mān Singh replied that to retreat was to encourage the enemy and to give up the undertaking. He called

<sup>1</sup> In Hūglī district, on the Dhāl-kishor.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Raipūr of J. II.

<sup>112</sup> in the Sarkār of Jalesar. It is described as having a strong fort.

<sup>3</sup> In the Bankura district.



for equipments and resolved upon fighting. At this time the fortune of the Shahinshah declared itself. After ten days Qutlū died. He was ill, and the cup of his life soon ran over. Khawāja 'Īsā made his young son Naṣīr the chief, and the success of the Afghans somewhat declined. They had recourse to flatteries and cajolery, and sought for peace. The army accepted their overtures on account of distress of mind and the heavy rains. An agreement was made that the *khutba* and coinage should be in the name of the Shāhinshāh,  
**581** and that the Afghans would be obedient and serviceable. Also that Jagannāth, which is a famous temple, and its environs should be made crown-land, and that no harm would happen to the loyal zamīndārs. Out of opportunism and fraud they subscribed to all this (*khaṭ sipardand*). On 4 Shahrīyār Khawāja 'Īsā brought Qutlū's son to the Rajah, and presented 150 elephants and other choice articles. Mān Singh encouraged him and returned to Behar.

On the 23rd M. Yūsuf K. got leave to return to Kashmīr. H.M. went as far as the first stage and imparted various counsels to him.

On the 3rd Zain Koka was sent to the northern mountains. As the landholders there, on account of the strength of their country, and their littleness of understanding, were becoming recalcitrant, that good officer was sent off with a large force. On 20 Mihr Tardī K. came from his fief, and had an audience. On the 23rd Mir after 3 hours, 13 minutes, a daughter was born to Prince Selīm by the daughter of Kīshū<sup>1</sup> Rāhtor. H.M. called her Bihār Bānu. On the same night a daughter was born to the Prince by the Mota Rajah's daughter. H.M. gave her the name of Begam<sup>2</sup> Sultan.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Miriam Makānī (Akbar's mother) for Fathpūr<sup>3</sup> (Sīkrī). She had travelled rapidly and unencumbered (*jarīda*) from a desire to behold the Shāhinshāh, and had thought that he would soon be returning (to Agra). When

<sup>1</sup> See Price's *Jahangir*, 20. The child only lived two months. Her mother is there called Bībī Karnutty.

<sup>2</sup> Died in twelve months. Her mother was Jagat Gosain, i.e. Jodh Bāī.

<sup>3</sup> Akbar was then at Lahore. His mother had left Fathpūr some

months previously, to see her son, and also in hopes of seeing Kashmīr. Gulbadan Begum was with her. But hearing that her son was marching to Kabul she went there and they met at Begrām (in Afghanistan). Akbarnāma III. 568. No doubt she accompanied him to Lahore.



this idea was frustrated, she took leave on the 24th (Mihr = about 10 October, 1589) to look after her household affairs. On the 28th H.M. travelled the first stage out of respects to her, and having spent the night there he took leave next day. The prince-royal was directed to accompany her for several stages. On 2 Ābān 'Ārif the son of Sharīf K. was killed in Agra. His women were angry with him on account of his bad behaviour, and killed him while he was intoxicated: they received the retribution of their conduct. On the third the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. There was a proclamation of liberality, and small and great obtained their desires. On the 7th, Rai Rai Singh was sent off to Bikānīr, and Masiḥu-l-Mulḳ<sup>1</sup> came from Gujarat. On the 11th a son was born to Prince Murād by the daughter of the Khān A'zim, and received from H.M. the name of 'Ālam Sultan. On 7th Āzar Mednī Rai arrived from Gujarāt. Among his presents were a deer and a leopard (*Yūz*). The deer had been left in a snare. The leopard made a spring, and was caught by the feet, while the deer was bewildered and caught.

In the feast of this month, sense-increasing wine was drunk, and **582** Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai the Mīr 'Adl also quaffed their cups. This verse was quoted by H.M.

*Verse.*<sup>2</sup>

In the era of the fault-forgiving king

The Qāzī drained flagons, the Muftī quaffed cups.

On the 15th Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq the Turanian ambassador died. Untimely eating made him ill, and want of abstinence added to his sickness. He had a large share of knowledge and sense. On the 13th the Khān-Khānān had a third son. He had always wished for a son, and had been impatient in his seeking for one. When he was in Gujarat, H.M. said one night to the writer: "When you write the firmān styling<sup>3</sup> him Khān-Khānān, say in it that the life-

<sup>1</sup> B. 543. He was Murād's physician.

<sup>2</sup> B. 468. The verse is from Hāfiz.

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure if the meaning is

that the letter was written when he was made Khān-Khānān, or simply that when A. F. wrote to him he was to tell him so and so. Īrij must have been born long before 998 for



giving Deity will soon give him three sons, and that he is to call them Īraj, Dārāb, and Qaran." In a short time the saying was fulfilled, and great and small had a new proof of H.M's. knowledge of hidden things. The Khān-Khānān gave a feast, and begged for the presence of H.M., who granted his request.

On this day news came that Sher Fulādī, an increaser of commotion in Gujarāt, had died, and that the sedition-mongers had retired to the straits of failure.

On the 14th, the daughter<sup>1</sup> of Mīrzā Sanjar entered the service of the Prince-Royal. Her father was the son of Khizr Hazāra. By H.M's. order she (or he?) was brought from her home, and her (or his) desire was accomplished.

One of the occurrences was the seizure of Y'aqūb and the death of Abiyā. These two brothers were plotting to escape, but they did not get an opportunity. The gracious sovereign did not approve of punishing those to whom quarter had been given. He sent them with Hasan Beg Gurd to Rajah Mān Singh, in order that they might be far from their home, and also that they might be reduced to some measure of quiescence (?). On the 18th<sup>2</sup> they were passing

in the 40th year he was made a commander. Qāran is not mentioned by B. or in the Maaṣīr. The Khān-Khānān had four sons, but he survived them all.

<sup>1</sup> B. 477, note.

<sup>2</sup> The date given on B.M. MS. 27, 247 is 18 Ābān and Sunday 3 Muḥarram 999. This is equal to 22nd October, 1590. The same MS. calls Y'aqūb's brother Ibrāhīm and says the attempt at escape took place near Māhimpūr (or perhaps it is Yāhirpur and in the pargana of Nizāmābād). This is a pargana in Jaunpūr J. II. 164 and is mentioned in Badayūnī, Lowe 85 as a place where Akbar was once weighed. The Iqbāl-nāma says that Hasan Beg recovered from his wounds and that

he conveyed Y'aqūb in chains to Rajah Mān Singh. According to the author of a history of Kashmir B.M. MS. Add. 24,029 Y'aqūb was eventually poisoned by Akbar who sent him a poisoned robe. See Rieu Catalogue I. 300. The story told in MS. 24,029 and referred to by Rieu is that Akbar was prejudiced against Y'aqūb by his courtiers so he sent him to Allahabad to assist in putting down a rebellious zamindar. At the same time he instructed his generals to cut off Y'aqūb's head as soon as he had finished the business of the zamindar. Y'aqūb behaved with great valour, crossed a river which Akbar's generals had been unable to cross from want of boats, challenged the landholder to



through a town (in Etawa?) near Bāburpūr. Ḥasan Beg had divided his men into three bands. One band was with the women and children, one was guarding Y'āqūb, who represented himself as ill and so was travelling in a litter, and a third was with himself. Some evil-minded tricksters raised an alarm, saying that robbers had attacked the baggage. Ḥasan Beg sent off his men in that direction. At this time Abiyā, who was in the plot, killed the torch-bearer with a sword, and wounded Ḥasan Beg. The latter struggled with him and threw him down, and despatched him. In the fight, Muḥammad, Y'āqūb's foster-brother wounded Ḥasan with a sword, and Ḥasan seized him also, and flung him down. Men now came up, and Y'āqūb and the other conspirators were seized.

At this time Rāwat<sup>1</sup> Dat (?) paikār, who was the headman 583 (*dih kiyāī*) of Mau which belongs to the country of Baksar (?), was wounded by his deadly enemies on his back, and on the lobe of his ear. About this time his son-in-law (*khwesh*) Rām Dās had a child which bore two similar marks. People said that the deceased had taken form again, and pointed to several indications of this. An order was given to have the child brought. On the 26th that four-year old child was brought. By the brilliant acuteness of H.M. the foolishness of the story was demonstrated. He said that in metempsychosis the body must be changed. In this case the body had been wounded, not the soul. Apparently this wonder was the result of imagination. It was not improbable that the child's mother had thought that the deceased would come out of her womb.

a duel, took him off his elephant, and brought him in a prisoner. The general reported Yāqūb's bravery, and as he felt unwilling to kill so brave a man, he referred to Akbar for further orders, thereupon Akbar sent a poisoned robe of honour which killed Y'āqūb as soon as he put it on. But Rafi'u-d-dīn the author admits that there is another version, according to which Y'āqūb died a natural death, and he concludes with a "God knows which is the truth." See MS. 126b etc.

<sup>1</sup> It is Dat دت in text, but there is the variant Rāwat Paikāra. I.O. MS. 235 has Bangāla, and the Iqbāl-nāma seems to have Bega. It also says that the village was in Bakar, but does not name it. It adds that the child said he was Rāwat. I.O. MS. has Mau, a village belonging to Baksar. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 seems to have Bhakkar, and to call the village Mūarkana. It says Qāsim 'Alī brought the child. The *Khulāṣat-tawārīkh* has Baksar.



During pregnancy she had been thinking of the wounds. She had taken a style and made the same marks (on herself) and then stories had been made about it. He said that one day before his own birth Miriam-Makānī was making marks with a needle (qn. tattooing?) on her foot. Jahānbānī (Humāyūn) asked what she was doing. She said that she wished that some memento might appear on the foot of her child. When he was born, similar marks appeared; and he uncovered his lower leg, and showed them to those who had the privilege of being present.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at Court of Qāin Kokaltēsh. It has been mentioned <sup>1</sup> that this approved servant had been sent to the Northern Hills. He came out near Pathān <sup>2</sup> and proceeded towards Kahlūr, <sup>3</sup> on the bank of the Satlej. All the inhabitants submitted and tendered presents, Raja Badhī Cand from Nagarkot, Paras Rām from Koh-i-Jammū, Raja Bāsū from Man, <sup>4</sup> Raja Anrūda from Jeswāl, <sup>5</sup> Raja Tīla <sup>6</sup> from Kāhlūr, Raja Jagdes Cand from Gwālyār, <sup>7</sup> Raja Sispāl from Dahpāl, <sup>8</sup> Rai Sānsar Cand from Sībah, <sup>9</sup> Rai Partāb from Mānkot, Rai Bhūnar from Jasrota, <sup>10</sup> Rai Balbhadra from Lakanpūr, <sup>11</sup> Rai Daulat from Sharkot <sup>12</sup> Bharta, Rai Krishn from Fort Bhīla, Rai Narayan the proprietor of Sukat <sup>13</sup> Mandī, Rai Krishn Īlādiya, <sup>14</sup> Rai Udiya Dhamrī-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 581.

<sup>2</sup> Text Nepāl, but the variant Bathān seems nearly right. The place meant seems to be Pathānkot. It is Pathān on I. O. MS. 236 and in the M'aasir II. 367.

<sup>3</sup> A Simla hill state. J. II. 325.

<sup>4</sup> In the Bārī Doāb Sarkār, J. II. 319.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the text is corrupt. Jeswāl appears from the MSS. to be a Raja's title and not the name of a country. The Iqbāl-nāma has Rajah Sirinjānwal.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently this should be Bhīka.

<sup>7</sup> A Gwālyār in the Bārī Doāb. J. II. 319.

<sup>8</sup> Dahwāl in the M'aasir Umari.

<sup>9</sup> Sīha in text. J. II. 317.

<sup>10</sup> Jasrota is an extinct principality in Kāshmir. I. G. VII. 147. It lies on the south of the province of Jammū, and on r. bank tributary of Rāvī.

<sup>11</sup> B. 345 has Lakhinpūr, but perhaps Lakhnūr, J. II. 321, is meant.

<sup>12</sup> Sharkat in Bijnaur, I. G. XII. 380?

<sup>13</sup> Haskanat in text. It is the Sakhat-Mandaewī of J. II. 317. See I. G. under Sukat and Mandī. They are hill-states.

<sup>14</sup> Mulawariya (?) in I. G. 236. No. 235 has Talwāriah, from Talwārah in the Bārī Doāb. The M'aasir II



wāl.<sup>1</sup> Though their cavalry was (only) 10,000, their infantry was more than 100,000. On 7 Dai he did homage, attended by all the landowners, and each of them received various favours. They presented 18 elephants, 115 horses, 205 hunting animals, consisting of hawks, falcons, etc. and also Yāks (*qatās*) and other varieties of that country.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Turanian ambassador. From the time that the ruler of that country recognized the glorious and eternal dominion, he tendered friendship and supplication, and on every occasion displayed new flattery, and spoke of concord. He was anxious on account of Aḥmad 'Ali Atālīq's not having returned, and at this time he was still more troubled on account of the improper conduct of his son in demanding the Aimāqs of Badash-shān. He had censured that hot-headed one and shown his disgusts with him. He made apology the forefront of his application and brought forward his former proposals. He sent Maulāvī Ḥusain, who was one of his old servants, to court with valuable presents. On the 15th he obtained an audience, and uttered **584** sweets words.

Also in this year Shihābu-d-dīn<sup>2</sup> Aḥmad died in Ujjain. He had done much good service in the empire, and was one of the most distinguished men of the Age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country. In order to sympathise with his relicts the lord of the world made Khwāja<sup>3</sup> Muḥibb 'Alī K. *dīwān* of Mālwa, and left Shihāb's fiefs to his servants.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to the school of the prison. On the 17th Dai (27th December 1590) he came without orders from Swād and fell into the toils of censure. It also came out that he had out of avarice given up Kālpī which

367 has Balāwrih. See Balāwarah. J. II. 320.

<sup>1</sup> Bhannī in text. It is Dhamrī in I.O. MSS.

The Iqbālnama also gives a list of the Rajahs. Some of the names are very doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> He repaired and reopened Fīrūz Shāh's Canal. See B. 332

and S. Aḥmad's Aṣār Sanādīd, p. 3 of Part III, and I. G. S. V. Jumma Canal, XIV. 234. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 386. His wife Bāba Agha or Māmā Aghā was related to Miriām Mahani and died in 1005 A.H., 1597. See A. N. III. 716.

<sup>3</sup> B. 516. He was a Khawāfī.



was in his fief. The displeasure of the holy heart increased, and spiteful and tyrannical people (*qābūciān*) brought to notice other crooked proceedings of his, and did so as if they were speaking the truth and were acting in a disinterested manner. The sovereign put him into prison<sup>1</sup> and sent an acute person to ascertain the truth. On this day Ḥakīm Ain-ul-mulk came to do homage. His fiefs were in India and Mālwa. As he came without order, he was not admitted to an audience. As it became known that the Khān A'azim M. Koka had taken away his *Jāgīr*, and that he had come to complain about it, he was summoned to the presence. On the 20th a special pigeon took a flight. A hawk made an attack on it and was nearly capturing it. When H.M. saw this, he said, "Strike and seize." Suddenly a troop of crows gathered from the plain and surrounded the hawk, and he withdrew his claws from the pigeon and fell into consternation. A cry arose from the spectators. Glory to the prince that seeks nothing but the will of God. The heavens revolve at his wish. What wonder then that a few birds acknowledge him !

One occurrence was the sending a force to take Qandahar. Jinnat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) had made it over to Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of Persia, and hence H.M. had not thought of taking it. Now that the star of the Persians' fortune was not as brilliant as formerly, and that Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and Rustūm Ḥusain M., the sons of Sultan Moẓaffar, had, from the intoxication of youth, revolted against the ruler of Persia, and that their deeds did not conform to their words about obedience to the Shāhinshāh, it occurred to H.M. that he should send an army to that quarter. Help would

<sup>1</sup> He was kept in prison for three years, not being released till the end of 1001, August 1593. Elliot V. 467. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says his fault was partly his unruly tongue. Jahāngīr describes him as foulmouthed. The sentence about his having *given up* Kālpī seems obscure. The Persian is *bāz guzāsh*t. Perhaps it means "he went to Kālpī." But probably it means that he had given up, or

transferred, Kālpī to somebody else, for at p. 585 we find that Kālpī was in the fief of Qāsīm 'Alī. There is a somewhat different reading in I.O. MS. 236, and perhaps the meaning is that Kālpī was taken from him on account of his avarice. But I do not think this is the meaning. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has also a different reading. Apparently, what it says is that Shahbāz gave away Kālpī.



thus be given to the ruler of Persia. If the Mīrzās should proceed to the court they would be caressed, and another country would be given to them, and that cultivated territory would be put under the guardianship (*pāsbīnī*) of a discreet and just officer, and the Usbegs would be restrained from thinking of seizing it. This assistance<sup>1</sup> (to Persia) would have a kindly appearance.

On the 24th (Dai 4th January, 1590) the Khān-khānān took leave. Shāh Beg K.,<sup>2</sup> Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyār Beg, Gūrdhan, Rāwal, Bhīm, Dalpat, Jānish Bahādur, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, ‘Alī Mardān Bahādur, Balbhadhar Rāthor, Sher K., Qarā 585 Beg, Farīdūn Barlās Sarmadī, Mīr M‘aṣūm Bhakkarī, Ḥasan ‘Alī, ‘Arab, Khwāja Hisāmu-d-dīn, Saiyid Darvesh, Qāsim Koka, Khākī Gallabān, Nūr Muḥammad, Khwāja Khizri, ‘Abdu-l-ghānī, Ulugh Beg, Sāl Alangī, Khākī Beg, Saiyid Mīr ‘Alī, Mīrzā Beg, Sālār Qulī, M. Muḥammad, Saiyid Banda ‘Alī, Ibrāhīm Beg, Murshid Qulī, Jolak Shamsher ‘Arab, Muḥammad Zamān, Bāqī Cārdāngī, ‘Abdul-laṭīf, Bahādur Malik, ‘Izzat ‘Alī Kabulī, Allah Bardī Tūlakcī, Ilyās Tūpcī, Muḥammad Qulī, Tingrī Bardī, Farrakh Beg, Qul Muḥammad and many other brave and capable men accompanied him. Khwāja Muqīm was made bakhshī, and an order was given that they should march via Baluchistan. If they<sup>3</sup> submitted, that fertile country was to be restored to them, and they were to be brought along with the army, otherwise they were to be punished, and were to be made over to just administrators. Also, the ruler of Tatta (Scinde) had not paid his respects. An able army should be sent to him, to advise him. If he came in person, or should send an army, it would

<sup>1</sup> A variant contains the clause that the assistance would benefit the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> The list is a very long one, and Nizāmu-d-din, Elliot V. 459, judiciously remarks that the names of the officers are too numerous to record. The Bakhshī was his father. It seems from the T. A. and Badayūnī and from Faizī's chronogram that Tatta was the main object of the expedition. M‘aṣūm Bhakkarī is

the well-known author. B.M. M.S. 27,247 gives the Muḥammadan date of the expedition as 17 Rabi-al-awwal 999, corresponding to 3rd or 4th January, 1590.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the Biluchīs are meant. The Khān-khānān never got to Qandahar. See *infra*, p. 601. According to B.M. Add. 27,247, it was the Biluchīs who were to join the army.



be better, otherwise he was to be temporised with and should be punished on the return.

On 1st Bahman, H.M. got into a boat and visited the Khan-khānan at the first stage, which was a league off. He gave him valuable advice.

On this day also Sultan Parviz had a sister born.

On the 6th, Ism'aīl Qulī came from Gujarat. On the 9th, Qāsim Alī was allowed to go to Kālpī, which was his fief. On the 22nd, H. M. had toothache, and was relieved by the application of leeches. On the 3rd, Isfardarmaz H.M. crossed the Rāvī, and enjoyed hunting for eight days and wandered about in the pleasant plains.

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## CHAPTER CIV.

BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH DIVINE YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR  
ISFANDĀRMĀZ OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

On Thursday, 24th Jumāda-al-awwal 999, 10th or 11th March 1591, after the lapse of 4 hours, 16 minutes, the Light-increaser of heights and depths filled Aries with Light. The court artificers decked out the halls, and gave spiritual beauty to externals. The material, as well as the intellectual, world became fresh and verdant.

*Verse.*<sup>1</sup>

O joyous bride, blame not fortune.

Make ready the bower of beauty, for the bridegroom hath  
come.

I scent the fragrance of joy in the world's state.

Joy has flowered, and the morning breeze rejoiceth.

Every day there was a fresh feast, and a new market day of **586** thanksgiving to God. On the 6th (Farwardīn) the rank of Zain K. Koka was increased, and he attained the lofty position of 4,000 and the right to drums. On the 9th H.M. entered a boat along with many veiled ladies and proceeded to Mīrzā Kāmran's garden and enjoyed the spectacle of the variegated spring. On the 17th the presents of the Khān Ā'zim were produced. He had sent some choice elephants and other rarities from Gujarat, and in this way he brought himself to remembrance. On the day of culmination (*sharf*, i.e. the 19th) when there was a great feast, the Tatta ambassadors obtained an audience. They presented a petition and presents. The purport of the representation was that it was from somnolence of intellect that there had happened what had happened, and that if the tidings of forgiveness could reach (the ruler of Tatta), former

<sup>1</sup> These lines are from Hāfiz, but the quotation is not exact. They

are the 4th and 5th stanzas of ode 104 in Bicknell.



stumblings would be rectified. The excuse-accepting sovereign made the envoys hopeful, and a comforting rescript was issued. On 9<sup>1</sup> *Ardibīhisht* the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a season of liberality and largesse.

One <sup>2</sup> of the occurrences was the recovery of the writer of the book of fortune (A. F.). On 4 Bahman of the preceding year (14 January 1591) his illness had increased, and the physicians conjectured that there was a stone in the bladder. They applied remedies, but the pain increased from time to time, consequently skilful persons lost hope. This news produced some joy in me, for, from the days of discretion I had no love for life. The currency of hypocrisy and the worship of the creature made me heart-sore. But as I was inclined <sup>3</sup> to perform military service, my disposition deviated from the commands of wisdom and became sad. This mixture of joy and sorrow always held possession of my heart, and I cherished the hope that I might tell some tales by the tongue of the sword, and convince high and low of the appreciativeness of the world's lord, and by the words of action reduce to silence the narrow-minded ones who strutted about in the insolence of courage, and cocked the little turban of boasting. Whenever H.M. cast the shadow of his kindness over the invalid (i.e. whenever he visited him), he conveyed to him the tidings of recovery. The others only nominally encouraged me. Two days before the new year the wise *Hakīm* <sup>4</sup> *Misrī* arrived from the Deccan, and was exalted by performing the

<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to 19 April 1591 and 5 Rajab 999 which was the anniversary of Akbar's birthday. The B.M. MS. adds that Akbar was now fifty years of age, and that the writer hopes he will live for 150 years.

<sup>2</sup> This passage does not occur in the Cawnpore edition, and only occurs in a mutilated form in I.O. MS. 235. It occurs in full in MS. No. 236. The B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 ascribes A.F.'s cure to the benign influence of Akbar. The illness

began on 4 Bahman, the day of *Shahriyūr* of the preceding year.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is a little doubtful. The text has *ba āin-i-sipāh* while I.O. 236 has *basipāh*.

<sup>4</sup> B. 491 and *Badayūnī* III. 165. Even he has a good word for this physician. His death is described *infra*, p. 783. See also *Darbār Akbarī* 713. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 adds line 13 from bottom of page 395a, the statement that the *Hakīm* had been imprisoned on his way from the Deccan by *Amīn K Ghorī*



prostration. At that very moment the kind sovereign sent him to see this one (A. F.) who was prepared for the last journey. His cheerful countenance caused new delight. His skill perceived the inefficiency of the former doctors. He diagnosed the malady and set himself to cure it. In a short time there were signs of improvement and my health continually mended. On the 15th I recovered and performed the *kornish*, and high and low were once more impressed by H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries. The Divine strength helped me greatly in this sickness. For many years I had been perplexed to comprehend the rational soul, and every proof that former (writers) had brought forward had been criticised by me. It was natural to expect that wisdom would come with equability of the temperament, but this is not what happened to me. The thing became clear to me while I was ill, and I reposed in the illuminated spot of intelligence. 587

One<sup>1</sup> of the occurrences was the success of Burhān al-Mulk. When on the first occasion he returned unsuccessful, as has already been partially described, he spent his days on his fiefs in Mālwa. At this time, when the Khān 'Āzim went to Gujarat and Shihāb K. died, he went to Rajah 'Alī K. the ruler of Khāndes. He in accordance with the holy commands of the Shāhīnshāh strenuously assisted him, and agreed with 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr that when the latter should march to Aḥmadnagar, he would also send an army from his side (Khāndes). With this idea he sent off some soldiers to remain

of Jūnagarh. At p. 393a the same MS. gives a statement of Ḥakīm Miṣrī and others of the revenues of the various rulers of the Deccan. It is stated there that the Deccani *dām* is equal to eight *tankas* of Hindustan. The revenue of Khāndesh is given as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  krors = 40 krors of *dāms*; that of Aḥmadnagar as 9 krors of *tankas* equal to one *arb* 44 krors of *dāms*; Bījāpur's revenue is 12 krors of *tankas* = one *arb* 92 krors of *dāms*; that of Golconda is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  krors of *tankas* = 56 krors of *dāms*.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 87.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 states that a report came from Mālwa, from Jamālu-d-din Ḥusain Anjū, on 26 Rabī'-ul-awwal, that Shihābu-d-dīn had died in Ujjain on the day of Dai ba Mihr of the 11th Divine month equal to 8 Rabī'-ul-awwal (January 1590). It says Muḥibb 'Alī Khwāfi was appointed in his room. The same place records that an elephant called Behūl Nigār had killed another elephant.



in waiting on his borders. Jamāl K.—who was the Aḥmadnagar general—in apprehension that the two forces would join—displayed activity. He took<sup>1</sup> with him his (i.e. Burhān's) son Ismā'il and hastened to fight the Bījāpūrīāns before Burhān-al-Mulk should join them. After a short conflict he was successful. When Burhān-al-Mulk came to Barār, Amjad-al-Mulk, 'Azmat-al-Mulk, Saif-al-Mulk, Shuj'aat K., Jahāngīr K., Ṣadr K., 'Azīz-al-Mulk and other leaders joined him. Without a battle he became secure about that country (Barār). On the very day that Jamāl K. was exulting in confidence he (Jamāl) got this news, and hastily marched without proper plan or preparation. He passed through the defile of Fardāpūr,<sup>2</sup> and on the 17th a battle was fought near there. Out of farsightedness Rajah 'Alī K. kept Burhān-al-Mulk and the Barār officers apart from one another, and himself engaged in the fight. There was a hot contest, and in it a bullet reached Jamāl K. and killed him. The army of the Deccan dispersed, and a great victory was gained. In a short time Ism'a'il was brought in as a prisoner and was put into confinement. Then the ruler of Khāndes returned after leav-

<sup>1</sup> *bardāshṭa*. This sometimes means "to defeat," as at III. 98, line 11, and it has been so translated by Dowson, Elliot VI. 87. But the context shows that the meaning is that Jamāl took Ismā'il with him. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 also shows that this is the meaning here, for it says that Jamāl made Ism'a'il an instrument of strife-mongering. The account of Burhān's expedition is in this MS. different from Bib. Ind. text, and is more detailed. It says that Jamāl defeated 'Ādil K. at Dhārasūr in Bījāpūr.

<sup>2</sup> Fardāpūr is a village near the Ajanta caves, and is used as a starting point by visitors to them. Ferishta does not mention Fardāpūr in his account of Burhān-al-Mulk. He says Jamāl tried to march through the Ghāt Rohangīr

Pass, and that when he found it closed, he went by a more difficult route. He dates the battle 13 Rajab 999 (27 April 1591) which corresponds to A. F.'s 17 Ardībihisht. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 calls the place Farīdābād, and gives the date of Jamāl's defeat as the day of Sarosh 17 Ardībihisht (Tuesday, 13 Rajab). The expression of Rajah 'Alī keeping Burhān and the Berar officers apart from one another, is explained by this MS. which says that Rajah 'Alī got hold of a letter of the Berar officers which said that they would desert Burhan on the day of battle. It also says that after the battle Ṣuhail the eunuch conveyed Ismā'il to a fort, and that Burhān entered Aḥmadnagar on 20 Sh'abān or 3 Khurdād (3rd June 1591).



ing some men (with Burhān) and Burhan-al-Mulk quickly went to Ahmadnagar and became victorious over the whole country.

One<sup>1</sup> of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of Shāh Abbās the ruler of Persia. From right-thinking and enlightenment H.M. opens his court to all conditions of men. The enlightened thereby obtain deliverance. Difference of faith does not play tricks and no dust of difference is raised by their being either strangers or friends. High and low seek for his friendship, and every one attains his desires. At the time when the sovereignty of Persia came to his father Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda, selfish strife-mongers stirred up dissension in Herat and incited him to assume the supremacy. They made his inexperienced youth the means of obtaining their own ends. The sovereign of Persia came to Khurāsān, but owing to his blindness, the presumption of the ministers (*dastūr*), and the duplicity of the soldiers, he was obliged to return without effecting anything. He (Abbās) sent Murshid Tabrizi to court and asked for assistance. The just Shāhinshāh did not regard him as worthy of an answer. He remarked how could he assist one who contended with his visible god (his father). At this time he represented anew his own purity and the activity of the wicked and selfish, and begged for encouragement. On 6 Khurdād, 16th May 1591, Yādgār Sultan<sup>2</sup> Shāmlū, who was old in years but of fresh wisdom<sup>3</sup> and was one of the ancient servants (*bābariān*) of the family, was exalted by doing homage. He presented a supplication (*nīyazīshnāma*) and choice presents. The excuse-accepting

<sup>1</sup> This is made a new chapter in I.O. MS. 236 and is so also in a variant noted in the Bib. Ind. ed.

<sup>2</sup> Text Rūmlū, but at pp. 656 and 705 he is called Shāmlū, and that this is correct is shown by B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 and by the Iqbāl-nāma. Perhaps this is the ambassador to whom Akbar refers as about to arrive, in his letter to 'Abdullah, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> Text *kahn sāl-i-nau khirad*. The word *nau* is curious, but I think it means that the ambassador though old had a fresh and vigorous under-

standing. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has *mard kahn, khirad dost* "an old man who loved wisdom." The same MS. gives the Hijra date of the ambassador's reception 3 Sh'abān, 17 May 1591. The long digression about the Ṣafwī dynasty is not given in this MS. Here it may be remarked with reference to the note to Mr Oliver's paper J.A.S.B. for 1887, p. 37, that though the dynasty took its name from Ṣafī-u-dīn, yet their followers are often called Ṣūfis in MSS.



sovereign was gracious to the envoy, and held a council about furthering his designs. Some were of opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurāsān from the Uzbeks, and in an excellent way obtain the renown of a helper. As the ruler of Tūrān had sent select men one after another and made strong the agreements of unity, this proposition was not accepted. H.M. said it was proper in the first instance to try advice. Perhaps there would be no contest.

I shall here give some<sup>1</sup> account of the Ṣafavī dynasty, and so refresh the garden of my words. He (Abbās) is eight removes from S. Ṣafī Ardabīlī, and the latter is twenty removes from Imām Mūsā<sup>2</sup> Kāẓim. Shāh ‘Abbās is son of Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda, s. Shāh Tahmāsp, s. Shāh Ism‘aīl, s. Sultān Haidar, s. Sultān Junaid, s. S. Ṣadru-d-dīn Mūsā, s. S. Ṣafī-u-dīn Abū Isāḥaq, s. S. Ṣadru-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, s. S. Khwāja ‘Alī, s. S. Amīnu-d-dīn Jabrail, s. S. Ṣāliḥ, s. S. Quṭbu-d-dīn, s. Ṣalīḥu-d-dīn Rashīd, s. Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, s. ‘Īwaz, s. Fīrūz Shāh Zarrīn Kalāh, s. Sharf Shāh, s. Muḥammad, s. Ḥasan, s. Muḥammad, s. Ibrāhīm, s. J‘afr, s. Ismāīl, s. Muḥammad, s. Aḥmad Ghazzālī Abū Muḥammad, s. Abū-l-qāsim Ḥamza, s. Imām Mūsā Kāẓim. Fīrūz Shāh lived in Zangān<sup>3</sup> near Sultāniya Ardabīl. He spent his days in comfort and with a good name. ‘Īwaz made his home in Isfaranjān Ardabīl. Quṭbu-d-dīn established himself in Ardabīl. Piety had a fresh glory from the brow of S. Ṣafī. He strove with himself and became victorious. In order to learn sciences he went to Shīrāz and made the acquaintance of S. S‘aadī and other good men. Some pure-minded ones indicated that he might attain the end of his seeking by getting the help of S. Zāhid in Gīlān. He had lighted the lamp of knowledge from S. Jamālu-d-dīn Gīlānī. The fountain-head of the latter was S. Junaid B‘agdādī. Of necessity he went thither. He made his acquaintance in the village of Halkgirān.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a full account of the early history of the Ṣafavī family in the *Habību-s-Siyar*, 4th part of 3rd vol. See also the ‘*Ālam Ārāī*’.

<sup>2</sup> See D’Herbelot s. v. Moussa Bin Giafar Ṣādīk. He died at Bagdad on 183 A.H. or 799 A.D., and is the

father of the Imām Rezā whose shrine is at Mashhad.

<sup>3</sup> The *Habību-s-Siyar* has Zangīn.

<sup>4</sup> The word appears to be Hiliyagirān in the MSS. It is perhaps the Kelheran of Olearius’s *Travels* (Davies’s translation), p. 244, which is



The Shaikh made over his daughter<sup>1</sup> to this spiritual son, and increased the glory of his own family. When Ṣāhibqurānī (Timūr) returned after conquering Rūm (Turkey) he interviewed S. Ṣadru-d- 589  
dīn Mūsā in Ardabīl and begged inspiration from him. He asked him what he desired, and the Shaikh requested the liberation of the Turkish prisoners. He obtained this, and many persons belonging to the Ustajlū, Taklū,<sup>2</sup> Rustāq, Rūmlū, Zū-al-qadr, Afshār, Qājār, Ughlū and other tribes were released. Many of them out of gratitude took the burden of devotion on the shoulder of their heads and chose Ṣūfism<sup>3</sup> (*ṣūfīgarī*). The desire of splendour brought out S. Junaīd from the corner of freedom, and the concourse of followers gave him courage. Jahān Shāh of the Black Sheep, the ruler of the two 'Irāqs and Āzarbaijān became apprehensive on hearing of this, and drove out the Shaikh from his kingdom. He went to Aleppo and from thence to Dīārbekr (Mesopotamia). Uzan Ḥasan of the White Sheep, the ruler of that country, treated him with respect and married him to his sister Khadīja Begī Āghā. Sultān Ḥaidar was the offspring of this union. When he (Junaīd) was killed in battle with the Shāh of Shīrwān, his son was brought up on Ardibīl under the protection of dervishes and sought after supremacy. He placed the red cap of twelve pleats on the head of his followers. When Uzan Ḥasan got the victory over Jahān Shāh, he gave his daughter Ḥalīma<sup>4</sup> Begī Āghā, also called 'Alam Shāh Khātūn, in marriage to Sultān Ḥaidar. Three sons were born of this union, viz. Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, Ibrahīm M., and Ism'aīl M. The last proceeded to revenge himself on the Shīrwān Shāh. Farakh Afshar who had become the Shāh of Shīrwān fought with him and was defeated. There was another battle and in it Sultān Ḥaidar was killed. Y'aqūb

described as a league and a half from Ardabīl and as the site of the tomb of S. Safī's father; Olearius 374 calls Zāhid S. Sahadī.

<sup>1</sup> The Ḥabību-s-Siyar says her name was Fāṭima.

<sup>2</sup> The proper spelling seems to be Nikalū. The Rustāq are not mentioned in Malcolm. The text has Qarācār, but Qājār is right.

<sup>3</sup> S. Sufī's name has nothing to do with Ṣūfism, but apparently A. F. connects the two words. Perhaps the Ṣafavī dynasty sought to do this.

<sup>4</sup> Olearius calls her Martha and says she was the daughter of Despina the daughter of John King of Trebizond.



Beg imprisoned his three sons in Iṣṭakhar (Persepolis). Amīr Qarā ‘Uṣmān governed Dīārbekr in the time of Ṣaḥibqirānī and Shāh-rukḥ M. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Uzan Ḥasan. He fought with Jahān Shāh the son of Qarā Yūsuf, and killed him. He had two sons Sultān Khalil and M. Y‘aqūb. The first succeeded. But as he did not recognise who were his friends, his soldiers left him and joined his brother. In fighting with him (Y‘aqūb) he was killed. When Y‘aqūb Beg died, the government went to Rustam Beg the son of Maqṣūd Beg son of Uzan Ḥasan. He released Ḥaidar’s three sons. Many days had not passed when he got frightened at the number and devotion of their followers. He formed other ideas. The brothers went in distress to Ardabīl. An army followed them and Sultān ‘Alī M. was killed in battle. The two other brothers fled to Gīlān, and obtained the help of Kārgiyā ‘Alī the ruler of that country. In Muḥarram 905, August 1499, Ism‘aīl came to Īrān, and the Sūfiān gathered round him. He proceeded to take vengeance on Farrakh Afshār. The latter was killed in battle. He took possession of that country and proceeded towards

**590** Āzarbaijān. There he was successful. In 907, 1502, at the age of 15, he had the *khutba* read in Tabrīz in his own name. Instead of the cap of Ḥaidar he introduced the tāj (tiara?) of twelve *tarks* (gores). He had five sons—Tahmāsp M., Altāsh M., Sām M., Rustam M., Behrām M. He fought with Sultān Murād the son of Y‘aqūb Beg near Hamadīn, and was victorious. He took possession of ‘Irāq, Fārs, and Kirmān. He prevailed over ‘Alau-d-daula Zu-al qadr, and increased his territories by Bagdad and part of Irāq ‘Arab. He also got possession of Khozistān. He killed Shāh Beg K. near Merv, and Khurāsān up to the Oxus became his. He reigned 24 years, and left the world at the age of 38. On Monday, 19 Rajab, 930, 24 May 1524, he died, and his son Shāh Tahmāsp succeeded at the age of twelve.<sup>1</sup> The word *Zill* denotes that year (930). He fought a battle with ‘Abdullah K. in Zorābād-i-Jām<sup>2</sup> and was victorious.

<sup>1</sup> Should be 10. Tahmasp was born on 22 February 1514, and succeeded his father on 24 May 1524, but according to the lunar calendar he was eleven, viz. from 919-30.

<sup>2</sup> Text has Rozābād, but I.O. MS. 236 has Zorābād. The battle was fought on 10 Muḥarram 935 = 27 August 1528. See Mr. Oliver’s paper, J.A.S.B. for 1887, p. 41.



Sultān Sulaimān the ruler of Turkey made an expedition against Īrān. The Shāh did not consider it proper to fight a pitched battle, but he attacked Sultān Sulimān's country and protected his own from injury by the Turkish soldiery. Garjistān (Georgia) and Gīlān fell into his hands. He imprisoned Khān<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad in the fort of Qahaqa. As his second son Ism'aīl M. was perverse and shameless, he summoned him from Herat and imprisoned him. For many years he ruled in Qazwīn with skill and moderation. Many good deeds adorned his reign (lit. adorned the face of his fortune) except that he in 966, 1559, sheltered Sultān Bayāzīd the son of Sultān Sulaimān with his four sons and 12,000 followers, and (then) owing to the instigation of flatterers, who were house-destroyers, stained his hand with the sacred (*garāmī*) blood of his guests. If the might of the Sultān of Turkey had constrained<sup>2</sup> him to this, he should not have taken silver and gold for it. He reigned for fifty-four years. On 4 Khurdād<sup>3</sup> of the 21st Divine year 15 May 1576, at the end of the night, he died of fistula (*nāsūr*). Some say that he was poisoned by the intrigues (*koshish*) of Sultān Ḥaidār. The putting to death of Sūfi Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr the son of the Ṣadru<sup>4</sup> *sharīya* in the palace

<sup>1</sup> He was the ruler of Gīlān. See above, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭahmāsp's conduct in this matter is described in Malcolm's History of Persia, ed. 1829, I, p. 332. It is there stated that Bayāzīd was at first kindly received, but that he and his servants behaved badly, and so Ṭahmāsp gave him up to his father Sulaimān. It seems certain that Ṭahmāsp behaved badly, and his own Memoirs, and the account in the 'Ālam Ārāī, do not clear him. The story that Bāyazīd tried to poison Ṭahmasp is ridiculous.

<sup>3</sup> 15 Ṣafr 984. 'Ālam Ārāī, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> The text seems corrupt. The variant *Sūfiyān* is supported by the I.O. MSS. Instead of *dar mahfil-i-shāhī* these MSS. have *dar mātam shāhī* "during the royal mourning."

Apparently, the meaning is that the story about Ḥaidar's having brought about his father's death is corroborated by the fact that the *Sūfīs*, i.e. the followers or devotees of the dynasty, put to death the physician during the public mourning—presumably because they thought he had, at Ḥaidar's suggestion, poisoned his master. The title of the physician's father *Ṣadr-i-sharīya* signifies chancellor or chief ecclesiastical judge. Olearius, p. 367, says the ecclesiastical judges are called *Shahru*. The text of the next clause is corrupt. As there given it seems to say that Sultān Ibrāhīm poisoned Ṭahmāsp. The real meaning is that some people said that Sultan Ibrāhīm (a son of Ṭamāsp's brother Bahram) got up the story about the physician on



supports this view, but some say that Ibrāhīm M. out of enmity with the physician brought this about. When the illness (of Ṭahmāsp) increased, Sultān Ḥaidar, at the instigation of flatterers,<sup>1</sup> took into his head thoughts of greatness. As he was his honoured father's sole *vakīl* (minister) the thought of supremacy ruined his understanding. At this time the Shāh got better. Though he did not call Ḥaidar to account, yet the latter did not remain in the rank of *Vakīl*. When Ṭahmāsp died, Parī Khān Khānim his daughter sent for the second son Ism'āil M. and by stratagem had Sultān Ḥaidar brought inside the female apartments. The leaders of the Rūmlū

**591** (Khālfa-i-Rūmlū) Shamkhāl Circassian, Shīb K. Walī Sultān, the *Taklū* officers and other well-wishers of Ism'āil M. were on guard. They closed the entrance and exit of the *daulatkhāna* (palace) and resolved<sup>2</sup> upon an attack on Sultān Ḥaidar. Meanwhile Parī Khān Khānim from within set about contriving his death. Meanwhile Sultān Maṣṭafa M., Zāl Beg, Ḥusain Beg, Pīr K. and other officers of the *Istajlū* clan to the number of about 10,000 assembled in order to bring out Sultān Ḥaidar. Shamkhāl<sup>3</sup> took the initiative and went inside and put him to death, and flung his head outside. The tumult ceased. Ism'āil M. became king and had the *khutba* recited near Qum. The intoxication of the world led that madman to disregard of propriety and to bloodshed. He indulged his disposition for 1½ years, 14 days and died on 3 Āzar of the 23rd Divine year, 13 November 1577. During his short reign he stretched out his hands to slay his brothers, and other relatives, and the grandees. Out of six<sup>4</sup> brothers he put to death Sulaimān M., Sultān Maḥmūd

account of a private quarrel he had with him. The variant to the text clears the matter a little, but the *az dushmanī-i-ān ba tang amida* there should apparently be *az dushmanī-i-ān pizishk* "out of enmity with that physician." This is the reading of I.O. MS. 235.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Olearius, who says Ḥaidar, who was only 17, put the crown on his head, and presented himself before his father who was then near his death.

<sup>2</sup> This seems the meaning of the phrase *yāzish namīrdand*.

<sup>3</sup> His maternal uncle. He was a Circassian or Georgian. See Price's *Jahangir*, p. 72. The Maṣṭafa M. who tried to release Ḥaidar was his brother. Sham Khāl was put to death. 'Ālam Ārāī, 162.

<sup>4</sup> So in text, but the preposition *az* does not occur in the I.O. MSS. and is probably wrong. Ṭahmāsp apparently left more than six sons. According to Olearius he had eleven.



M., Imām Qulī M., and Sultān Aḥmad. He also blinded Sultān ‘Alī M., and killed Sultān Ibrāhīm M. and Badī’u-z Zamān the sons of Bahrām, and<sup>1</sup> Sultān Ḥasan M., the eldest son of Sultān Muḥammād Khudābanda. He exerted himself to promote the tenets of the Sunnīs, but did not succeed. Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda his elder brother sate on the throne in the 23rd Divine year, and the world blossomed out. The bloody Shah (Ism‘aīl) had sent persons to kill him, and this was near being effected, when the report came that he (Ism‘aīl) was dead. Unexpectedly he (Khudābanda) came to power. The administration of justice devolved upon Fakhru-n-nisā<sup>2</sup> Begam, daughter of Mīr ‘Abdallah the ruler of Māzh-indarān, who was his (Khudābanda’s) wife. She exerted herself to reunite the disputants (lit. to knit together the broken-hearted), and when the Turkish soldiers proceeded towards Shirwān, and the Persians were defeated and returned, she left the Shāh in Qazwīn and went off to that quarter. After brilliant contests she obtained possession of her own (ancestral) territories. When she returned, the Qizilbāshīs became irritated and put that great lady to death. The beginning of their prosperity rested upon loyalty (*ikhhlās*). Now when they have gone so much astray, I do not know what will be the end of such somnolent ones. The Turkish commotion again rose high, but the Shāh (Khudāband) put an excellent ending to it by the good service of M. Sulaimān the Vizier.

At this time the officers of Khurāsān made ‘Abbās M. an instrument of strife and had the boldness to attack Mashhad. Though

The ‘Ālam Ārāī, p. 95, says Tahmāsp left nine sons and eight daughters, p. 102. What A. F. means, I think, is that Ism‘aīl killed six of his brothers. The text only mentions four or almost five, but then it omits one—Sultān Maṣṭafa, who was killed by Ism‘aīl and who is mentioned in both the I.O. MSS. and in Price’s *Jahāngīr*, 72. I.O. MSS. 235 mentions six.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ālam Ārāī, p. 96. He was 18 when his grandfather died.

<sup>2</sup> She is mentioned in the ‘Ālam Ārāī, p. 160. She was a capable woman and probably the real contest was between her and her sister-in-law Parī Khānim. The ‘Ālam Ārāī notices her death, p. 179, etc. She apparently instigated her husband to put Parī Khānim to death. In the ‘Ālam Ārāī, 180, she is called Khairu-n-nisā. Both she and her mother were put to death by the discontented officers, do. 182.



Murtaza Qulī was defeated in battle, yet he displayed activity in defending the city. The Shah (Khudābanda) led an army in that direction and invested Turbat, which is on the way to Herat and was held by Murshid Qulī K.<sup>1</sup> On account of the duplicity of the  
**592** disloyal he made a peace after six months and returned to 'Irāq. At this time news came that 'Abbās M. was meditating the giving of battle, but that he was indulging in the slumber of security on account of the withdrawal of the Shah. The latter left his baggage and, owl-like, made a night attack on his ('Abbās') camp. Many leaders were killed, and some were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The Mīrzā shut himself up with some men in Herat, and was besieged there. Owing to the folly of intriguers within and without (Herat), men proceeded to the height of shamelessness, and forcibly took M. Sulaimān<sup>2</sup> out of the palace and killed him. The Shāh was obliged to make an insincere peace (a wolf's truce) and to return. He led his army into Azarbaijān in order to dispose of the Turkish commotion. Hamza M. (his son) became the general. The disloyal Turks<sup>3</sup> (i.e. the Turks in the Persian service) behaved badly also to the Mīrzā (Hamza) and prevented the success of the campaign. They separated from him and came to Qazwīn, and raised up Tahmāsp<sup>4</sup> the young son of the Shāh. Hamza left his quarters and showed activity in attacking them. He was victorious and then returned to his former enterprise. Meanwhile Murshid Qulī succeeded by stratagem in taking Mashhad. 'Abbās M. under the guidance of 'Alī Qulī proceeded to give battle, but was defeated and went to Herat. Murshid Qulī became the Atālīq of the Mīrzā ('Abbās). At this time Hamza M. was killed by the son of a barber.<sup>5</sup> The officers made Abū Tālib M. the young son of the Shāh their leader (peshwā). The report of the coming of 'Abdullah K. to take Herat became general. Murshid Qulī K. took 'Abbās M. to

<sup>1</sup> His biography is given in *Maasir-ul-Umra*, III. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Khudābanda's Vizier. For account of his death, see '*Ālam Ārāī*', 210.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Turkān* is a mistake for *Turkoman*.

<sup>4</sup> '*Ālam Ārāī*', 241.

<sup>5</sup> Text *dalāl*, a broker, but the variant *dallāk*, a barber, seems right. *Olearius* 347 mentions the barber story, but assigns it to *Ism'aīl*. He says Hamza was killed by some men who were disguised as women, and he represents this as occurring after Khudābanda's death.



‘Irāq, and the Qizilbāsh deserted daily and joined him. At last Shāh Sultān<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd and Abū Ṭālib also joined. Both were placed in retirement. In the 32nd Divine year, 1587, the khutba was recited in his (‘Abbās’s) name. He out of suspicion put many to death. Though he could not succeed in taking Āzarbaijān and gave up Khurāsān for a while, yet when the ruler of Tūrān<sup>2</sup> died, he got hold of Khurāsān. On account of the tumult of youth he shed blood\* without consideration, and disgraced some persons, but he subsided somewhat at the remonstrance of the world’s lord. It is to be hoped that a good day will come.

Also, in this year Mihtar Ibrāhīm brought from Qandahar the petition of Moẓaffar Ḥusāin M. He conveyed presents and supplications. The excuse-accepting Shāhinshāh showed kindness to the envoy.

On the 18th the elephants<sup>3</sup> which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the time of the Orissa Peace arrived at Court and H.M. took pleasure in beholding them.

An occurrence was the arrival of Miriam Makānī from Agra. When news of her approach reached H.M., he sent his sons, one after the other, to greet her.

On 21 Khūrdād (31 May 1591) H.M. embarked in a boat, and went to the tent of that great lady and did her reverence. Next morning they enjoyed themselves in river-palaces (boats) and came to the city.

<sup>1</sup> So in text, but Muḥammad seems the correct spelling, and occurs in the MSS. The person meant is ‘Abbās’s father Khudābanda.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Abdullah did not die till 1597, 6 February = 2 Rajab 1006.

<sup>3</sup> *Pīlānī* is, I think, used elsewhere in the A. N. to mean ele-

phants. It may, however, mean a single, large elephant. It appears from a report by Sarmadi Bakhshi, p. 414a of B.M. Add. 27,247, that 106 elephants were obtained in Orissa. It is also said that the Afghans were to send 300.



## CHAPTER CV.

## VICTORY OF THE K. Ā'ZIM M. KOKA AND THE DISGRACE OF MOZAFFAR GUJRĀTĪ.

When Gujarat was taken from the Khān-Khānān and assigned to the Kokaltāsh, and when there was delay in his going there, and the august standards were spread out in the Panjab, the evil-minded of that country rent the scarf of respect and withdrew their heads from obedience. The Jām,<sup>1</sup> who was the head of the set, gathered together wicked men, and brought out his treasures and made Mozaffar Gujarātī the general. He also summoned to his aid Daulat K., the son of Amīn K. Ghorī, the ruler of Jūnagarh and Sorath, and Khen-gār,<sup>2</sup> the ruler of Kach (Cutch). The Koka arrived there before the rebels could effect much. For a time he did not pay much attention to the matter, and he thought that the affair would be easily disposed of. At last the intoxication of the wicked increased, and the K. Ā'zim withdrew his hand from all other things and proceeded to remedy matters. The brothers of Qulīj K. and the sons of Ism'aīl Qulī K., who were holders of large fiefs, made unfitting excuses and did not accompany him. Apparently their non-arrival was a Divine aid, for the fewer presumptuous ones there are in an expedition the better is the work done. The cowardice of one man will upset a whole troop, and unsuitable words will confuse a world. He made war, backed by the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, against numerous enemies and the folly of well-wishers who did not understand the position, and proceeded to chastise the shortsighted opportunists. Near Bairamgāon,<sup>3</sup> Fath K., son of Amīn K. Ghorī; Candar Sen, the Zamindar of Halūd, Karn Purmāl, the Kalāntar (chief) of Morbī, and many presumptuous ones joined the

<sup>1</sup> (Satr Sāl).

<sup>2</sup> See Bayley's Gujarat 55 and note. He is called there the ruler of Girnān. The Iqbāl-nāma calls

him Rajah Khengār. See J. II. 249, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The Veirumgaon of Bayley's map. W. Ahmadabad.



victorious army. Naurang K., Saiyid Qāsim, Khwāja Sulaimān, and other brave men were sent forward by the K. Ā'zim. They<sup>1</sup> halted in Morbī, 25 *kos* from the enemies' country, and indulged in foolish talk. I comprehend that they did not think of service, but why did the nobleness of eternal fortune remain behind a veil? From distorted vision they brought forward proposals of peace. They did not succeed, and turned their faces to abjectness (perhaps, to a truce). The wicked and presumptuous (rebels) did not accept the proposals and conceived the idea of fighting. The Kokaltāsh from his awakened fortune and bright star set himself to remedy matters, and though the soldiers were less than 10,000, and there were more than 30,000 of the enemy, he prepared for battle. He arranged his forces in seven bodies.<sup>2</sup> In the centre were Khānam,<sup>3</sup> Khwāja<sup>4</sup> Abū-l-qāsim Diwān, Ḥakīm Mozaffar Ardistanī, Qizil<sup>5</sup> Abdāl and other heroes with 2000 men. On the right wing was Naurang K. 594 with 1500 men; on the left wing were Khwāja Rafī, Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Qāzī Ḥusain, Saiyid Abū-isāḥaq, Candar Sen with 1800 men. The vanguard consisted of Saiyid Qāsim,<sup>6</sup> Saiyid Bayāzīd, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, Saiyid Salīm, Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, Saiyid Muṣṭafa with 1400 men. The *altamsh* consisted of 1600 men.<sup>7</sup> The Kokaltāsh, Kāmrān Beg, Muhammad Toqbāi, Khwāja Bābā, and Qādir Qulī Koka formed the reserve with 400 experienced men who loved their honour; Gūjar K. with 600 men formed the reserve of the right wing, and Khwājam Bardī with an

<sup>1</sup> This obscure passage becomes clearer in the *Iqbāl-nāma*. It was this advance force which indulged in foolish negotiations.

<sup>2</sup> Text *karohī* "kos," but the true reading is *gurohī*. See the T. A. which has seven bodies (*fauj*).

<sup>3</sup> This is M. Koka's son. B. 328.

<sup>4</sup> B. 485. He was brother of Akbar's teacher.

<sup>5</sup> Text *qaral*. The MSS. have Qizil, and this seems right, as Qizil occurs at p. 767.

<sup>6</sup> MS. No. 235 MS. Sayyid Qāsim Bārha.

<sup>7</sup> So in text, but the MSS. have the name Anwar instead of the word *hazār* (1000), and the account in the *Iqbāl-nāma* shows that Anwar is right. Anwar is for M. Anwar, the son of the Kokaltāsh; see Blochmann 328 and 475. 1600 seems too large a figure for the *altamsh* and is reduced in MSS. to 600 or 300. Anwar is no doubt the M. Nour of Price's *Jahāngīr*, 42, who was put to death for a murder. In B.M. MS. Add. 27,247, the name is written Nūr.



equal number formed the reserve of the left wing. On the other side were, in the centre, Moẓaffar with 4000 of the Lonakāthī tribe and of others; in the right wing was Daulat K. with 4500 men; in the left wing, the Jām with 8000 men; in the vanguard were Ājā, the son and heir of the Jām, his paternal uncle Manīh, and other brethren, and Jasā with his relatives, together with 4500 men. It was decided that they would cross the Sai<sup>1</sup> (?) river and give battle on 30 Tīr, 10th July 1591, and test their respective courage. When they crossed the river, there was such thunder and rain that for two days and nights the opposing forces could not meet. The enemy held the high ground, and the imperialists were in difficulty, on account of the lowness of the land, the abundance of water, and the scarcity of provisions. Twice they (the enemy<sup>2</sup>) tried a night-attack, but were unsuccessful.

When their hardships became intolerable, they of necessity proceeded towards Nawānagar, to the dwelling-place of the Jām, in order that they might distract the enemy, and get supplies. They marched four *kos*, and came to an inhabited village, where they got provisions and much plunder. The enemy were compelled to move, and took post three *kos* off on the other side of a stream. Many went off to look after their homes. On 4th Amardād (14th July, 1591) the forces came forward to fight, and there was a hot engagement. The valiant men of the left wing passed<sup>3</sup> by the vanguard. Daulat K. (Amīn Ghorī's son) fought strenuously. Khwāja<sup>4</sup> S. threw himself upon the foe, and Khwāja Rafī' on account of ties of friendship stood by with him, along with some others. They (the enemy) seized his reins and killed him. Fifteen<sup>5</sup> brave men from among his relatives died

<sup>1</sup> *Sīyah āb* "Blackwater." Perhaps the Ran of Cutch is meant, but most probably it is the name of a river. The K. A'ẓim was marching along the south side of the Ran. Perhaps the *Siyah āb* is a name of the Sabarmatī.

<sup>2</sup> The B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 distinctly states that it was the enemy who attacked.

<sup>3</sup> That is, they got ahead of the *altamsh*.

<sup>4</sup> It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that this is Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusain who afterwards died of his wounds.

<sup>5</sup> The fifteen who also fell were apparently related to Khwāja Rafī'. For S. Kabīr see B. 519, note. His father Mukammal Khān of Gujarat translated a work on Astronomy for Akbar. B. 105.



gallantly. S. Kabīr, son of Mukammal K., also fell bravely. The reserve of his force (the left wing) did not behave well, and many fled. Some came behind the centre. Muḥammad Ḥusain S., wounded, was among the men (of the left wing). He soon died. Some in the mid-centre and the *altamsh* drew their rein. The enemy exulted in their success, and pursued and fell upon the baggage. Meanwhile the brave men of the *altamsh* supported Daulat K., and some who had fled, returned and took part in the fight. The enemy's right wing which was pressing on slackened their speed somewhat. In the beginning of the contest the enemy's van contended with the imperialists, and there were strenuous efforts.

*Verse.*

You'd say all the hearts<sup>1</sup> of the swords swelled,  
The earth groaned beneath the horses;  
The brain of the clouds became filled with the sound of the drum;  
The cup of the sword was filled with red wine.

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The work of arrow and sword was over, and they contended with knife and dagger. Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn<sup>2</sup> bravely yielded up his life. The army was nearly meeting with a disaster. The brave men of the *altamsh* defeated the enemy's right wing. The hostile Rajpūts acted according to their custom and got off<sup>3</sup> their horses and stood to be slain. Meanwhile the Kokaltāsh arrived, and the face of victory was displayed. Mihrāwan with his brother and two sons and Jasā with 500 Rajputs yielded up their lives in one place. Zarīf al-Mulk, the *vakīl* of Daulat K., was captured. The Jām and Mozaffar fled without fighting. Daulat K. was wounded and went off to Jūnagarh. 2000 of the enemy's warriors were killed; 100 of the imperialists were killed, and 500 wounded; 700 horses were lost. The artillery, the elephants, etc. of the enemy were captured. The general returned thanks to God. All, small and great, were encouraged. On the 28th<sup>4</sup> the news of victory was conveyed to

<sup>1</sup> The middle part of a sword is called its heart (*dil*).

<sup>2</sup> Brother's son of Abū Turāb.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. III. 8, end of 1st para. The Iqbāl-nāma adds "girt up their trowsers (*fautahā*) and stood like

Alexander's rampart." Cf. Elliot I. App. 535.

<sup>4</sup> 28th Amardād = 8th August, 1591. The battle is described by Niẓamud-dīn, Elliot V. 459, and by Badayūnī, Lowe 385. It is not cor-



H. M. and there was Divine praise. The Kokaltāsh had written that he had become hopeless on account of the dismay of great and small, but the world's lord had appeared to him in a dream and had encouraged him so that *the water that had dispersed had returned to its channel*. If such glorious apparitions were recited, one by one, the ears of the superficial could not contain them.

At this time Qāzī Nūr Ullah and Qāzī 'Alī were sent to Kashmīr. Enemies trumped up stories against Tōṭa,<sup>1</sup> who was one of M. Yūsuf

rect to say that it had no results, for it was followed by the surrender of Jūnagarh, etc. See Elliot V. 461 and the Maasir U.I. 683. The date of the victory is said to be 6th Shawāl 999 = about 18th July, 1591. The T. A. and Badayūnī make it 998, but Faizī's chronogram and A. F.'s statement show that it should be 999. According to I.O. MS. 235, M. Koka's force amounted to 8000 men, and the enemy's to 17,000. I.O. MS. 236 has 8900 for M. Koka's force and 21,000 for the enemy's. The Cawnpore edition has 8900 for M. Koka's force, and 17,000 for the enemy's. I think that we may take 8900 to be the number of M. Kokā's men and 21,000 as that of the foe. The latter number agrees with Nizāmu-d-dīn's statement that the enemy had about 20,000 horse. The reduction from 30,000 to 21,000 is not inconsistent with A. F.'s first statement, for he says that many of the rebels left when M. Koka made the forward movement towards their homes. Though the authorities speak of M. Koka's arranging his force in seven bodies, A. F. mentions eight. Horn's *Das Heer und Kriegs wesen der Gross Moghuls*, Leyden, 1894, pp. 65 etc., and also 113, has some interesting remarks on

this battle. The MS. Add. 27,247 says M. Koka held a review (*shān*) and that he found the number of his men was 9000. The total of the figures given in the MS. for the enemy seems to be 17,000. It says the day first fixed for the battle was the Īzān (also called Anīrān), that is, the 30th day of the month (of Tīr) and which corresponded to Monday the 'Īd of the Ramṣān = 13th July, 1591. It gives 600 as the number of the *altmash*, and calls the Jām's son Aca. The actual day of the battle it gives as 4th Amardād or 6th Shawāl (18th July). Instead of Sīah āb, black river, it seems to have آسیه آب *āsiya āb*, i.e. mill-stream.

<sup>1</sup> Text Bartūṭa, and there is the variant Hartūṭa, but it appears from B.M. MS. 27,247 that the man's name was Tōṭa and that he was a Khatrī, and that *bar* is the preposition. Qāzī Nūr Ullah is apparently the author of the *Majalisa-l-Mūmīnān* who was afterwards flogged to death by Jahāngīr's orders on account of his Shiism. See Rieu Cat. I. 337a, and Badayūnī III. 137, who praises Nūr Ullah in spite of his being a Shia! It has been stated above, p. 549, that Akbar on his visit to Kashmīr raised the revenue from 20 to 22 lakhs. The paragraph is rather obscure. I



K.'s confidential servants, and represented that his skirt was stained with embezzlement. The Mīrzā, without making inquiry, put him to the torture, and he, after being ill used, escaped and came to court as a suppliant for justice. He represented that the revenue of Kashmīr had been fixed at 22 lakhs of *Kharwārs*, and that M. Yūsuf had got the fief at the rate of sixteen *dāms* for each *Kharwār*. At present the number of *Kharwārs* (received by Yūsuf) was 50 per cent more than this, and each *Kharwār* was worth 28 *dāms*. All these facts could be ascertained by inquiry. On the 16th (Amardād = 27th July, 1591) these two able and unavaricious officers were sent to inquire into matters.

On the 18th (Amardād = 29th July, 1591) 'Urfī of Shiraz died. He had opened<sup>1</sup> a door of the house of eloquence. If he had not had self-love, and had regulated his life properly, and if Time had given him some leisure, his work would have risen high. About this time (the time of his death) he composed this quatrain.

*Verse.*<sup>2</sup>

Urfī! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated  
 After all, of what value are the goods thou hast packed?  
 To-morrow the Friend with the ready money of paradise in  
 his palm  
 Will ask for thy wares, and thou wilt have an empty hand. 596

think the words *u Daryāft-i-hamwāra bar gasht* must be a phrase meaning that everything would be ascertained by a local investigation. It seems as if the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* so understood them, for he says that the clerk (Ṭoṭā) said that the truth would be ascertained if an Amīn were sent. Qāzī Nūr Ullah retreated in time, but Qāzī 'Alī was killed by the Kashmīris. The subject is referred to by Blochmann at p. 346, but apparently he has taken his account from the *Maasir* III. 315 and not directly from the A. N.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the rendering should be

"A pearl of eloquence has dropped." But it appears from B. 571 that 'Urfī spoke of his standing before a door, etc. Possibly there is a pun in the remark about self-love, and *dar khud* may mean both "in himself" and "his own door."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. 571, "Not a grain, etc." The translation is Mr. Lowe's, 387. B. 569 says 'Urfī died in Lahore in Shawwāl 999. Badayūnī has a notice of 'Urfī III. 285. See also *Khāfī* K. I. 200 where two witticisms of 'Urfī at Faizī's expense are recorded. His real name according to B. was *Khawaja Sayyadī*, though



On the 30th (Amardād) Bībī Rūpa<sup>1</sup> covered her face from the troublous spot of the earth (i.e. died). H.M. was grieved, but from profundity of view he became resigned, and craved forgiveness (for her). She was one of the choice nurses. She always spent her time with propriety, and out of her right-thinking she obtained long life. On this day the Aḥadīs came to court after performing good service. Before this, some Rajputs had killed Karam Beg, the son of Sher<sup>2</sup> Beg, and gone off rapidly. Hamza<sup>3</sup> 'Arab had a *jāgīr* in Bhimbhar. Umrā, the brother of Rai Rai Singh, became disobedient and practised violence. He received suitable punishment from the fief-holder. Kesū Dās, his (Rai Rai Singh's) brother's son, lay in wait to take revenge. One night he killed Karam Beg, thinking that he was Hamzā's son, and then fled with some companions. When the thing was known, swift men went off in all directions. S. Adam and S. 'Azōya-llah Aḥadī went off in search via Multān. Between Dībāl-pūr<sup>4</sup> and Qanūlā (?) they came up with the fugitives near the town of Naushahra. Some Rājputs of Rai Rai Singh's and some servants of the Khān<sup>5</sup> Khānān also joined them. Kesū Dās and five others were killed and three men were brought in as prisoners. The Aḥadīs were graciously received.

On this night after three *pahars* 1½ *gharīs* 'Abdu-r-raḥmān,<sup>6</sup> the son of the writer of the noble volume, had a son. There was great rejoicing and the world's lord gave him the name of Bishotan. It is hoped that his distinction will increase, and that he will soon get fitting employment. Also at this time S. Ibrāhīm<sup>7</sup> died. He had a large share of practical wisdom, and the province of Agra was managed by his cleverness. He died on 4th Shahriyār, 14th August, 1591, and H.M. begged forgiveness for him. His surviving relatives

Beale says it was Jamālu-d-dīn. His poetry appears to have been translated by Maṅlvi 'Abdu-s-Salām. See Rien, Cat. 667*a*, for an account of 'Urffī.

<sup>1</sup> See translation I. 131. She was one of Akbar's wet-nurses.

<sup>2</sup> Sher Beg Yasāwaltāghī B. 515.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps No. 277 of B. 407. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 calls Karam Sul-tān Beg.

<sup>4</sup> Should be Dīpālpūr. It is the Dīpālpūr Lakhī of J. II. 332 and Qanūlā appears to be the Qabūlah there mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> The Khān-Khānān had Multan as his fief.

<sup>6</sup> See B. xxxv and for Bishotan id. xxxvi.

<sup>7</sup> B. 402, and Badayūnī, Lowe 387. He was very wealthy. Add. 28,247 gives the Hijra date as 7 Zī-l-Q'ada.



received favours. By the royal command Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram proceeded from Mewāt to that quarter (Agra) and in a short space of time they (the inhabitants) discoursed<sup>1</sup> of his administration of justice and good deeds.

One of the occurrences was the sending of ambassadors to the south. When Burhān-al-Mulk prevailed over Aḥmadnagar he should have increased his devotion and gratitude, and been an example of obedience to the other rulers in that quarter. The wine of success robbed him of his senses, and he forgot the varied favours he had received from the Shāhinshāh. In his evil fortune he set himself to oppress the weak, and considered that his profit consisted in the injury of others. The world's lord, on account of graciousness and benevolence, resolved that he should in the first instance send an able person to Rajah 'Alī K.—to whom Burhān was submissive—and to convey, in accordance with his suggestions, counsels to the somnolent one (Burhān) and the other rulers of that quarter. If they listened and apologised, he would withhold his hand from retribution. Otherwise a victorious army would be appointed, and chastise-597ment be inflicted. On the 14th the Mulku-sh-sh'uarā<sup>2</sup> S. Abū-l-faiḡ Faizī was sent to Rajah 'Alī K. and Burhān-al-Mulk. Amīnuddin was sent along with him. Mīr Muḥammad Riḡavī was sent to 'Ādil K., and Mir Manir to Quṭbu-l-Mulk. Many messages of instruction were sent.

One of the occurrences was the proceeding of the officers to Jūnagarh. When M Koka gained his victory, he hastened next morning to Nawānagar, and gathered immense booty. The Jām and Mozaffar fled to the highlands of Barra (Bardā, also called Jaitwār). The Kokaltāsh remained where he was to punish the evil-doers, and sent Naurang K., Sayid Qāsim, and Khwāja Sulaimān to take Jūna-

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is obscurely expressed in the text, and I have been obliged to paraphrase A. F.'s expressions. A. F. speaks in another place of the people of Agra being very difficult to manage. Ibrāhīm Cistī accumulated an immense fortune during his governorship, and the most of it went into the government coffers.

The expression *bar guḡrānd* seems identical with the words *bar guḡārand* on the next page, line eleven.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 389-90, and Elliot V. 460. B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 gives copies of the *firmāns* (see that MS., pp. 398*b* and 400) to Rajah 'Alī and Burhān. Apparently these also occur in the *Inshā*, Book I.



garh. His thought was that when his mind was at rest about that country he would follow them. Those sent encountered great hardships in consequence of the desolation of the territory and the high price of provisions. When by endurance they approached the place, Daulat K., the son of Amīn K., died of his wounds, and there was some talk of surrendering the fort. The garrison said, "The governor of the fort is dead, and the victorious army has arrived. The proper thing is to conclude a treaty, and make over the keys." The answer sent was that they should send a confidential man in order that their wishes might be carried out. At this time news came that a set of Kāthīs had fallen upon the baggage. Of necessity the troops had to go to that spot. Just then, Moẓaffar came there, and the garrison resumed their haughtiness. The Khān 'Aẓim was indignant, and resolved upon taking the fort. Moẓaffar came out and it was reported that he had hastened off to Aḥmadābād. The Kokaltāsh sent an army after him under the command of Kharram (his son) and intended that he himself should invest the fort. Meanwhile it appeared that the Jām was in the neighbourhood and proceeding to his home. M. Koka hastened thither. The Jām turned back and had recourse to supplications. Meanwhile the disturbance of Naẓar<sup>1</sup> Be and his sons arose. M. Koka was obliged to accept the Jām's apologies and to return. In Dandūqa Mīr Abū Turāb arrived from court and brought a rescript, and choice horses and robes of honour for the servants. The officers on hearing of the glorious news offered up thanks. Just then the news of the quelling of the Mālwa rebels gave a fresh brightness to the countenance of joy. The Kokaltash's idea was to return to the capture of the fort, but he was hindered by the hanging back of his companions.

<sup>1</sup> These were Uzbegs who had left 'Abdullah K. See B. 455 and 519. Their fate is recorded below, p. 600. Add. 27,247 mentions three sons,

Qambarī, Shādī and Pīrā (?). They and their father had gone to the Deccan and joined Burhānu-l-Mulk without obtaining leave from Akbar.



## CHAPTER CVI.

DEPARTURE OF PRINCE SULTĀN MURĀD TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE  
PROVINCE OF MĀLWA.

The best worship by a sovereign is the choosing of right thinking men and the appointing them to look after the weak, especially 598 when the former adorn high birth by good qualities. Such is the conduct of our sovereign lord. He is always testing friends and strangers, and exalting the humble. He looks after the neighbouring rulers. If they sympathise with mortals by administering justice, etc., no harm comes to them, and he encourages them. \* Otherwise entreaties do not prevent him from inflicting retribution. But he begins by giving advice, and holds forth both hopes and fears. When the rulers of the Deccan took to behaving ill, he sent able men to advise them. He also exalted Prince Sultān Murād, who was adorned with fitting qualities, and gave him a standard, a kettledrum, an umbrella and a *togh* (banner), and appointed Mālwa as his fief. On the night of 4th Mihr, 14th<sup>1</sup> September, 1591, after the lapse of two hours, he was sent off there after receiving weighty counsels. H.M.'s idea was that if the rulers of the South were not impressed by the good advices, punishment should be prepared for them. I record here some of the weighty advices which he hung on the ears of that honoured son, and thereby communicate the materials of wisdom.

“The first step is to enquire into what is God's Will, in order that right actions may be performed. After that, outward purification is to be pursued. Food and clothing are not to be made ends. Profundity of view is to be exercised. Tyrannous actions are to be

<sup>1</sup> Elliot V. 460 gives 23 Zī-l-ḥajja as the date, but the Newal K. ed. gives 8th and Badayūnī, Lowe, 391, has 12th. The 8th would correspond to 18th September, 1591. The

Iqbāl-nāma says Murād was also made a commander of 8,000. B.M. MS. 27,247 gives 9th Zī-l-ḥajja as the date when Murād was sent.



abstained from. The rules of moderation and of fitting season are not to be departed from. Every member (of the body) is to be kept to its proper office. Much speaking and laughing are to be avoided. Sleep is not to exceed one-third part of the day and night (nycthemeron). There must be an endeavour to improve the army, and the country, to provide for the safety of the roads, and the obedience of the refractory; and thieves and robbers must be put down. Then attention is to be paid to internal improvement. Lust and wrath must be subjected to the commands of Wisdom, for the Creator has placed two<sup>1</sup> sentinels in the palace of the body. The one sees that proper things are done; the other that evil things are abstained from. The children of men out of somnolent intellect have given these two a loose rein, and have made what should be the adornment of life the supplier of death. Do not neglect the knowledge of what is right, and support the power of the ruler (Reason). Preserve the equability of the four humours, and keep far from excess and defect which constitute evil. Use justice and discretion in this daily market of hypocrisy and double-facedness. The worship of the choosers of bypaths who have severed the links of association is one thing, and that of those who are bound in the improvement of the world is another. Though<sup>2</sup> the idea of both is development, yet the former never departs from awakenedness, while insouciance is suitable to the latter. Study the actions of every one, and be not disturbed by seeing improprieties. Let not love or hate, or threats or encouragements, transgress bounds. A frown will effect with many, what in other men requires a sword and dagger. Let not difference of religion interfere with policy, and be not violent in inflicting retribution. Adorn the confidential council with men who know their work. If apologies be made, accept them. Be not stiff in your own opinions.

**599** Do not consider any one suitable for this employment (the giving of advice) except a far-seeing, right-thinking and disinterested person. Do not make ease<sup>3</sup> your rule, and do not reject help in the

<sup>1</sup> Referring, apparently, to the two recording angels who attend every man. One records his good actions, and the other his evil deeds. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, article, Angels.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that the devotee is always engaged in worship, while the layman is necessarily subject to interruptions.

<sup>3</sup> The text here differs from the



day of (your) distress. Do not be dismayed by much ill-success. Choose the observance of your promises above all advantage to your self, and live so that the crowds of foreigners be not distressed. Especially see to it that merchants have a good opinion of you for their report carries far. Expect<sup>1</sup> from every one service in proportion to his ability. Be not deceived in your inquiries by glozing words. Love is produced by one of four things. 1st. The idea of worldly advantage. This is slow to come and soon goes. 2nd. Spiritual advantage. This is the opposite of the first. 3rd. Goodness of disposition. This lasts throughout life. Its permanency or its non-existence depends upon wisdom.<sup>2</sup> 4th. Loyalty (*Ikhhlāṣ*). One must by the route of this fourfold stream look narrowly into the condition of followers, and regulate his actions according to such knowledge. You must study instructive books, and apply your knowledge to practice. Secure the affection of contented hermits and of the matted-haired and barefooted. Be not uplifted by beholding those who have been robbed of splendour. Apply yourself to sympathising with the soldier, and give him his pay in due season. Demand from every one suitable horses, arms and tents for him. Reward good service. Do not lose sight of an old servant. Fail not to encourage the husbandman. For every employment secures truthful and active-minded men, so that they may do good work without desire of money,<sup>3</sup> or of greatness

MSS., but they too are not very intelligible.

<sup>1</sup> That is, do not expect more from an ordinary man than he can do.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is obscure and there are different readings in the MSS. Perhaps, instead of *khīrad* "wisdom" we should read *khūd*, and the reference may be to the oriental proverb that every thing returns to its original. The word *bachīra* "at the end" occurs in the Lucknow ed. and in a MS. of my own.

<sup>3</sup> The text has *bāda*, wine, but some MSS. have *pāra*, money. The words in text are *be khāwish-i-bāda-i-buzurgī farokhtan*, "without the

desire of selling the wine of greatness" (?). Apparently, what is meant is that they are not to be accessible to bribes. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391-92, has a sarcastic account of Prince Murād's administration of Mālwa. The Prince was then under twenty-one years of age. No doubt he was preferred to his elder brother on account of the latter's drunken habits. The MS. Add. 27,247 gives a very long Wājibu-l-'Arz or Petition of the prince to his father, asking for instructions in the performance of his duties. To each item of his queries is appended Akbar's order thereon. Each of these is headed



or praise. Do not withhold your own supervision from them. Exalt the right-thinking, and admonish and punish the foolish. Be not satisfied in the administration of justice with oaths and witnesses. Make various inquiries and study the book of the forehead (the physiognomy). Do not introduce new customs which yield little advantage and much evil. Make over the Passes to brave and experienced men and neglect not the security of the roads. In prosperity remember adversity, and prepare remedies for everything. Choose a good companion, and be not offended at his truthful speech. Obey wisdom and refrain from ebullitions of temper." He gave him many delightful counsels. It is to be hoped that fortune will favour him, and that something of what has been said will lead to action. Ismā'il

600 Qulī K. . . . (here follow 7 lines of names) and many others accompanied that nursling of fortune. The fief-holders of Mālwa were also appointed to choice service. From among them Ism'ail Qulī K. was made Vakīl and Mukhtār Beg, Bakhshī. Next day the writer of the noble volume was sent to expound some of the admonitions, and represent that there was spiritual union (with Akbar) though there was physical separation. I was also to ascertain and report the wishes of the prince, and to endeavour to carry them out. There was a confidential meeting. The pearl of the kingly diadem (Murād) uttered pleasing words, and the sovereign was delighted on hearing them, and said "I hope that prosperity will not produce somnolence and that the society of the good will act as a guard.

*hukm shud.* In the same MS. A.F. describes how after Akbar had given directions to the prince, A.F. was sent next day to give verbal instructions, and to receive his applications for orders. Murād asks a great many questions. He begins by saying that he dreads the separation from his father, and says he would have liked to remain near him as his ewer-bearer. He fears he may be attacked by enemies in his absence and that he may be accused of hypocrisy. He asks how he is to act with regard to *kornish*, how he is to check drunkenness among his

followers, how he is to regulate his time of sleep, etc. He begs that two persons, whom he names, may be allowed to accompany him. Akbar replies that one of them will be sent, but that the wife of the other man objects to his going, and that until she can be persuaded to let him go, he cannot be sent. Murād asks about amusements, and about days of fasting (*sūjiāna*). He also asks for books, and is told that the translation of the Mahābhārat will be sent him. Also that the sacred names of God will be sent him to help him in his devotions.



On the 21st H.M. went out to hunt, and some ladies accompanied him. He went as far as the Cenāb, and he enjoyed himself. Though hunting was the object, yet many oppressed persons obtained justice; and many refractory persons were chastised. On the 25th near Shāham 'Alī he received the news of the disaffection of Nazar Be and of his death. He and his sons had received high rank and been given a *jāgīr*, in Handiā. As the wine of self-will does not agree with narrow capacities, they soon became oppressors. When Burhān-al-Mulk went to the Deccan . . . Nazar Be's sons accompanied him without orders. He himself, thinking that Gujarāt was empty, went off there. On hearing this, M. Koka made peace with the Jām and returned. When that crooked-minded one (Nazar) saw that fortune was not in his favour, he represented that he had come in order to see how things were going on. When the Kokaltāsh heard this, he did not expose<sup>1</sup> him, but politely dismissed him. He did not go to his *jāgīr*, but went to the Deccan. When he came to Khāndesh, Rajah 'Alī K. gave him a warm welcome for a time, but had the prudence to send him back unsuccessful. Near Sāwal<sup>2</sup> the Kūliān (a tribe) blocked his path, and in the fight he was killed. At this time his sons left Burhānu-l-Mulk, and stirred up strife in Mālwa. Khawāja Muhibb 'Alī Dīwān gathered together Jamālu-d-dīn Husain and other fief-holders of the province, and set forth to remedy matters. The wicked men dispersed there-upon, and near Bijagarh<sup>3</sup> fought with the landholders and were defeated. Qambar<sup>4</sup> Be was wounded, and died. Shādī Be and some followers came to Nadarbār (Nazarbār). The agents of Qulij K. bound him and brought him to court. H.M. was kind to him and sent him to Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> *ban rū nī āward*, "did not bring him to book (?)." Perhaps it means, did not attend to him. Add. 27,247 has *nekoishāmid*, "he was censured."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, Sāvda in Khāndes, the Sāodā of J. II. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> Text has Qambar Be, Raḥim Be *hardū*. But Raḥim is a mistake for zakḥmi as Add. 27,247 and the *Iqbāl-nāma* show. Nazar Be had a third

son, called Bāqī at III. 487. Add. 27,247 says Qambar took shelter with Tewārī, a dependent of Moẓaffar Gujarātī, after he was wounded. This is interesting, for it supports the statement of I.O. MS. 235, p. 684a, last line, that the wounded man took refuge with the zemindar of Rāj-pīpla, for his name was Tewārī. See J. II. 251. I.O. MS. 236 also speaks of Qambar Be's taking refuge with



On 1<sup>1</sup> Ābān the festival of the solar weighment was celebrated. In Bādalgarha H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and the world rejoiced. All got their desires. An order was given to Zain K. Koka, who was the fiefholder of the place, to convert the site of the weighment into a garden. H.M. gave it the name of Zainābād. At this time it occurred to H.M. to found a large city on the  
**601** bank of the Cenāb, and that thus an old idea would be carried into effect. Skilful men pointed out several sites. On the 6th (Ābān) Ḥakīm Miṣrī, Ḥakīm ‘Alī, Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusāin and Mīr Tāhir were sent to examine both banks of the river. They selected two spots. One was on the other side, between Pargūwāl and Ḥājwāl, and was a dependency of Bahlūlpūr.<sup>2</sup> The other was on this side, and near the town of Sūdhara. An order was given that the Greek and Indian astrologers should ascertain a propitious time. As they fixed one that was somewhat remote, the work was not undertaken.

On this day Mīr Sharīf ‘Amulī was sent off to Bengal and Bihar and was entrusted with four<sup>3</sup> great offices (*manṣab*), viz. those of Āmīn, Ṣadr, and Qāzī. Sharīf Sarmadī<sup>4</sup> was made Bakhshī.

Tewārī, and adds that he died at his place.

<sup>1</sup> 6 Muḥarram 1000, according to Add. 27,240.

<sup>2</sup> Bhilalpūr or Bahlolpūr of I.G., VI. 205, in the Ludiana district. The names of the two villages which were dependencies of Bahlūlpūr are different in Add. 27,247. The wording too of the passage is different. The names in the B.M. MS. seem to be Barkowal and Jaguwāl. The other site was in the village of Kahūra near Shūdra. Akbar was then in the village of Shāh ‘Ālam, and while there he discussed and reprobrated some trick perpetrated by Alexander against Porus. This subject is referred to in the “Sayings of Akbar,” given in the Ayīn, J. III, 392 and note.

<sup>3</sup> The text, following apparently the Lucknow edition, says he was made a commander of 4000. But this, as B. has pointed out, 452, n. 1, must be a mistake. I.O. MS. 235 gives one of the four offices as *Khalīfagī*, “apostleship.” Evidently the text is wrong, for it only mentions three offices. Add. 27,247 has a very curious statement. It says that the highest office was to give advice to the Prince Royal (Jahāngīr) who had gone wrong through drink.

<sup>4</sup> He too is one of Badayūnī’s heretics. B. 391 N. and 607. Sarmadī wrote a long and interesting account of Mān Singh’s conquest of Jagannāth (Pooree), which is preserved in B.M. MS. 27,247.



On 28th (Ābān) the standards were upreared at Lahore, and crowds rejoiced to see H.M. One day, while hunting, a fawn was seen. By the royal command a bitch<sup>1</sup> (named) Teztak (the swift) was let loose. The fawn was nearly caught when the mother devised a stratagem. She pretended to be lame, and came near the bitch; the latter thought her an easy prey, and went after her. The fawn escaped, and when the mother had conveyed her to the herd and was at ease about her, she left off her lameness, and went away swiftly. H.M. said he had seen such a remarkable thing in a *qamrgāh* hunt in Bazarah,<sup>2</sup> but that the mother had not escaped.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Arghūniāns.<sup>3</sup> It has been mentioned that a choice army was appointed under the command of the Khān-Khānān to take Qandahār. As Multan and Bhakkar were in his fief he left the near road by Ghaznīn and Bangash and took a long route in order to look after his *jāgīrs*. Meanwhile mercenary people who did not understand what should be done represented the large spoil of Tatta and the little spoil of Qandahār. The commander took<sup>4</sup> leave to conquer Sind. Near

<sup>1</sup> *Qanjaq* or *qānjaq*, a canine bitch.

<sup>2</sup> Badrak in text, but Bāzārah or Bazārak (a little bazaar) in Afghanistan seems meant. See *ante*, translation I. 526.

<sup>3</sup> They derive their name from the grandson of Hulāgū. Elliot I, 303. At p. 428 l.c., it is stated that the dynasty ended with Shāh Husain, but see B. 361, 362. The Tarkhāns represented the older branch.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably this means that the Khān-Khānān obtained Akbar's consent to the change of plan. A.F. does not give the date of the Khān-Khānān's arrival at Bhakkar. M'aṣūm, Elliot I. 247, says he himself arrived there on 14 Ṣafr 999 (2 December 1590), and that Khān-Khānān came there at the same time. On account of the hot winds, and the violence of the river, he stayed there

some time, and then sent M'aṣūm to Sehwān, and himself followed afterwards. The naval battle was not fought till about eleven months after the K. K.'s arrival at Bhakkar.

There are some words in the B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 which are omitted in the text. It appears that Akbar, or at least A.F., disapproved of the change of plan, for the remark is that Qandahar could have been easily reached by way of Ghaznī and Bangash, and that the alteration of plan made an easy task difficult. There is a paragraph about Qandahar in the annals of the 35th year, page 584 of Bib. Ind. ed. It corresponds to a passage in Add. 27,247, but the wording is different. According to the latter, Qandahar had always belonged to India, but Humāyūn had resigned it to the ruler of



Multān the Balūcīs waited on him and made promises. Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces. At this time the ambassadors of M. Jānī Beg came to the Khān-Khānān and represented, "The conquest of Qandahar is the object of the army. It would have been fitting that (our master) should join on this, but as the disturbance of strife-mongers prevents this, he is sending an army to serve." The envoys were put into confinement and the troops advanced somewhat faster. Just then news came that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwān and consumed the provisions. On hearing this the troops went on rapidly by land and water. Those who went by water passed under the fort of Sehwān and took Lakhī.<sup>1</sup> It is like Garhī in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmīr. No harm came from the cannon and muskets of the garrison, and the gate of the country fell into their

602 hands. The Khān-Khānān approached the fort (i.e. Sehwān), and set himself to take it. Some call this country Siwistān. This fort of the ruler is situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of a ridge. The glacis (*khākrez*) is 40 yards, and the wall seven yards (high). Near it there is a lake<sup>2</sup> eight *kos* in length, and six in breadth.

Persia. Now that the star of the Persians was setting (*dar ufūl ast*), it occurred to H.M. that it would help Persia if he took Qandahar, and so saved it from the Uzbegs! Also the Mīrzās (nephews of Tahmāsp) had grown deaf of heart, and were not acting properly. Akbar proposed to take Qandahar from them, and to bring them to India. The Khān-Khānān therefore was sent off with a large force on 24 Mihr—the day of Dīn, corresponding to 17 Rabi'-ul-awwal (999) = January 1590; but from self-interested motives, and a desire to gather the spoils of Sind, he did not go by Baluchistan. M. Jānī Beg's offence was that he had not paid his respects to Akbar at Lahore.

<sup>1</sup> See B. 325 and note Hughes' Gazetteer of Scinde, p. 686, says, "Be-

tween the towns of Lakī and Sehwān the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. The defile was swept away in 1839." Part of the Khān-Khānān's forces went by water, and part by land. Apparently, he himself went by land. The taking of the Lakī Pass secured the route to Tatta. The Sehwan Fort stands on an artificial mound, and, according to legend, was built by Alexander the Great. It is known as the "Kāfur Qila?" See also about Lakī and the taking of it by the K. K., Elliot I. 285. Lakh means a defile in Balūchi. (Pottinger).

<sup>2</sup> The Manchhār lake, I.G., XVII



Three branches of the river join it. It is a place of refuge for the garrison. Some men live on islands in it and some in boats. Qarā Beg and some men embarked on boats (*ghrāb*) and went towards it. As they came suddenly, they collected much plunder. The land-owners asked for quarter. On hearing this, M. Jānī Beg prepared to give battle. At the pass of Naṣīrpūr<sup>1</sup>—a place which lies on one side, the river,<sup>2</sup>—and on the other, streams, he constructed a fort. He strengthened it by war-boats and a park of artillery. The army was doubtful about advancing. At this time Rāwal Bhīm, the ruler of Jaisalmīr, and Dalpat s. Rai Singh, represented: “Our intention was to have come by Bhakkar. Having lost<sup>3</sup> our way we are coming by way of Umarkot.” From apprehension that the enemy would prevail over this force, (the K. K.) left the work of taking the fort and of making the road, and set off by land and water. Maqṣūd Āqā and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe. On 18 Ābān he arrived within six *kos* of the enemy, and out of precaution put up four walls. On the 21st,<sup>4</sup> *Khusrū* the Circasian prepared his boats and came out to fight. Although they were moving up stream, they were forced downwards by the strength of the current. The fight went on from evening till dawn. Owing to a report that M. Jānī was coming by land, Farīdūn Barlās and others on that dark night left the river. In the morning there was a hot cannonade, and a great battle. The enemy could not come to close quarters owing to the shallowness of the water. Those who had left the river (i.e. the imperialists) came by the other bank and took to shooting with arrows (bullets?). The brave soldiers went down the stream in war-boats. For a time they fought with bullets, but soon they contended with spears and daggers.

122 and J. II. 338, where it is called Manchūr. See also Hughes' Gazetteer.

<sup>1</sup> The Nasarpūr of the I.G., XVIII. 398, in the Hāla division of the Haidarābād district, J. II. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Variant and also I.O. MSS. *buzurg daryā* “great river.”

<sup>3</sup> Text *az gumrāhī* “from losing

our way.” But the I.O. MSS. have *az kam ābī* “deficiency of water,” and this seems right. Apparently the reference is to the want of drinking water on the route by Bhakkar.

<sup>4</sup> 21 Ābān = 31 Oct. 1591. The *Tārīkh Akbarī*, Elliot V. 461, has 26 Muharram 1000 = about 3 November, as date of battle.



## Verse.

Flashed the diamond-like swords.  
 The steely spears were made bloody.  
 You'd say a smoke arose from the earth.  
 Out of it there shone the fire of battle.

The enemy withdrew their hands from the work and fled, and there was a great victory. Bardāna—(var. Parwāna) a noted man—was killed, and M. Qulī was wounded and captured. Four *ghrābs* full of men and stores (*khwāsta*) were captured. In one of them was the ambassador<sup>1</sup> of Ormuz. The rule is that the governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta, in order that there may be a feeling of security<sup>2</sup> among the merchants. M. Jānī had brought him with him in order to proclaim that so many tribes had come to help him.

**603** He also brought some servants of his own, dressed up in their clothes. 200 of the enemy fell into the waves of destruction, and more than 1000 were wounded. Owing to the Divine protection, few of the victorious troops were hurt. Active men brought up their *ghrābs* and wounded *Khusrū*, and he was nearly made prisoner. Suddenly<sup>3</sup> a gun burst and the boat was broken to pieces, and some were killed. The far-seeing and experienced urged that they should proceed by land and water to the dwelling-place of M. Jānī. As the morning of success had blown in the evening of despair, most did not approve of this, and so they made difficult a task that had become easy. On 13 Āzar H.M. was enquiring about the condition of Tatta, and said, "Search well, for some one is coming from that quarter. Suddenly a swift camel-rider (*bukhtī-suwār*) brought the news of victory.<sup>4</sup> New thanksgiving was offered up.

<sup>1</sup> Text *wakhshūr*, ambassador. But the variant *qaitūr* قیطور is supported by the I.O. MSS., while the *Iqbāl-nāma* twice has *ṭaifūr*, and calls the officer the *gomastah*, or agent, of the governor of Ormus. The Cawnpore ed. has *manzūr*. A MS. of my own has *faiṭūr* فیطور, and this is evidently the true reading for the word intended is the Portuguese *feitor*, equal to *factor*, and which occurs in a quotation in *Hobson-Jobson*.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the meaning is that the governor of Ormuz (perhaps a Portuguese) left a representation at Tatta as a sort of hostage so that the Tatta merchants might feel safe in going to Ormuz.

<sup>3</sup> M'aṣūm says the powder magazine in the imperialists' boat caught fire.

<sup>4</sup> M'aṣūm Bhakkari's account of the battle will be found in *Elliot I.* 248, etc.



On the 26th (Āzar) Āṣaf K. was sent to the Cinab and the Bihat. As information was received that the landholders of that quarter were oppressing the weak, this good officer was sent to punish them. In various places *Faujdārs* were appointed. Zīa-l-mulk was appointed to Mūng, Allah Bakhsh Maral to Rasūlpūr, Hāfiz Walī (to the tract) from Jandāla to Lahore. In a short time many met with their deserts, and some were brought bound to court. The persons above named were left in their place.

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Tibet sent his daughter to court. From the time that Kashmīr had been included in the empire, the ruler of that country (Tibet) had continually made supplications. It occurred to 'Alī Rai the ruler of Little Tibet that his daughter might enter into the gynaeceum of the Prince Royal. H.M. approved of this, and on 22 Dai she<sup>1</sup> was conveyed along with presents of the country. He obtained his wish. At this time a glorious son came into being, and there was a feast of joy. Inasmuch as the Incomparable Creator waters the garden of eternal dominion, auspicious sons were bestowed, one after the other, and the garden of fortune was kept verdant. Accordingly this noble record tells thereof. A fresh instance was when on the 26th (Dai) after four hours and 24 minutes, during the sign of Libra, the daughter of the Mota Rajah gave birth to a son in the harem of Prince Sultān Selīm (in Lahore). He received the name of Sultān Kharram.<sup>2</sup>

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to Qandahar. When the Khan-Khānān chose the conquest of Tatta, Prince Sultān Daniel was sent off to that quarter (Qandahar) with a large army. H.M. ordered that if the Mīrzās chose service, he should accept them and make them hopeful of royal favours. Otherwise he was to conquer the country and make it over to some able and just officer.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 388.

<sup>2</sup> This is Shah Jahān. He was born on 30 Rabī'-al-awwal 1000 on 5 January 1592 at Lahore, B. 311. His mother's name was Balmatī (Beale). Jahāngīr, Price 20, calls her Jagat Gosāine. MS. Add. 27,247 writes the name of the child as Sultan Khūram

خورم. A space is left in the MS. for the horoscope, but it is blank. There is one in the 'Amāl Ṣāliḥ. It states that the child was made over to the care of Rukhiya Begam, Akbar's first wife, and who was childless. She was his cousin, being the daughter of M. Hindāl.



604 Several of the imperial servants made suggestions for his (Daniel's) turning back, and from his acceptance of humble representations he (Akbar) assented. On 4 Bahman Khidmat Rai<sup>1</sup> (?) died of dysentery. He belonged to a tribe which was unequalled in India for wickedness. They are also called Māwī and Candāl. H.M. favoured him and made him chief of his tribe, and guided him towards honesty. He opened somewhat the windows of his heart, and many from conversation with him turned away from evil courses. At the present day, the guards in every house come from them. As he had the title of Khidmat Rai, every one of the tribe is called Khidmatiya.<sup>2</sup> On the 6th, choice mountain productions, which had been sent by Bahādur Singh, the Rajah of Khistwāra, were shown to H.M. The envoys received favours. On the 20th the nursling of fortune Sultān Khusrū was put to school. First, he was shown how to pray to God and then taught the letter *Alif*. An order was given to the writer of the noble volume to teach him something every day, and then to leave the completion of the teaching to his younger brother<sup>3</sup> Abū-l-khair, who bore the mark of uniqueness for goodness and acquisition of wisdom. May the Almighty make the blessing of external teaching the material of real knowledge, and preserve him from the injury caused by current sciences—which are a place of stumbling to mortals.

One of the occurrences was the plundering of the home of Rajah Madhukar. When Prince Sultān Murād was sent to Mālwa the chiefs and the landowners everywhere came forward and paid their respects, and returned after receiving favours. News came to Agra the capital that this landowner (Madhukar), out of presumptuousness, did not intend to pay his respects. An admonitory letter was sent to him, and near Narwar he sent his grandson, and made excuses for not coming himself. A second warning was sent to him,

<sup>1</sup> There follows the word نكداری Nakdarī (?) which I do not understand and which is wanting in some MSS. Perhaps it is *kaidī* "vomiting," which occurs as a variant. It can hardly be Nikodarī.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 252. The text has Bawī for Māwī, but a variant gives

Māwī. See Elliot Supp. Gloss. I, 99. The Māwī are a branch of the Gūjar tribe. They claim to be descended from a Chauhān. They are apparently also connected with the Dhāuks.

<sup>3</sup> See J. III. 448. He was born on 18th February 1560.



and threats and hopes were held out to him. He awoke from the heavy sleep of carelessness and proceeded to tender his service. When he arrived within four *kos*, he expressed a wish that Ism'aīl Qulī K. and Jagannāth should take him into their charge. This was agreed to. Ism'aīl Qulī quickly came, but Jagannāth delayed somewhat. The landowner out of fear went back, and hastened off to the defiles. The Prince became somewhat angry with the slovenly executants of orders (*khāmkārān*) and ordered that they should go after him and bring him back. Otherwise they were to punish him. Out of want of wisdom they refused to do this, and he, without regard to his rank, personally went on this errand. Madhukar had recourse to blandishments and sent his sons Rām Sāh<sup>1</sup> and Ranjit. The attack on his home was delayed. Near the fort of Karkara<sup>2</sup> the son of Hamīr Sen asked for quarter, and this was granted. At the instigation of inexperienced men he (Murād) broke the agreement 605 and set himself to take the fort. He who had been admitted to quarter fled, and the prince took the fort. 400 Rajputs died manfully at their homes. When Rām Sāh beheld this breach of agreement he fled at midnight. Jagannāth who was his custodian felt ashamed and had no answer to make. The Prince took up again his first resolution, and the frightened one (Madhukar) withdrew. His home was plundered, and the imperialists encamped there. H.M. did not approve, and issued an order, asking why had there been a deviation from appreciativeness and the recognition of rank, and why had he without orders attacked the landowner. He also severely censured the prince's companions. They should now feel ashamed and proceed to redress matters, and the prince must return quickly to Mālwa. If he did<sup>3</sup> not submit to orders, a large army would be sent (against him). The prince left Saiyid Rājū and a party there and came to Mālwa. When the landowner heard of this, he had recourse to supplications. Šādiq K. conveyed his<sup>4</sup> excuses to H.M. They were accepted. On the 27th, Bāz Bahādur was

<sup>1</sup> B. 487. He is also called Rām Cand.

<sup>2</sup> In Sarkār Bayānwān, J. II. 189. See B. 356. The I.O. MSS. call Hamīr Ḥamīr. Perhaps he is the Ḥamīr of pp. 490, 91.

<sup>3</sup> The person referred to here is Madhukar and not the prince.

<sup>4</sup> *pozish*, but I.O. MSS. seem to have *pūrash* "his son, but apparently Rām Sāh did not come to court till later. See p. 628.



sent to convey him to the prince in order to make his submission.

At this time a new arrangement was introduced. The world-adorning sovereign in his enlightenment divided, on 2 Isfandārmaz, 12 February 1592, the crown-lands (*khālīṣāt*) into four portions, and made over each of them to an able man. The provinces of the Panjab, Multan, Kabul and Kashmīr were made over to Khwāja Shamsu-l-dīn, the provinces of Ajmīr, Gujarat and Mālwa to Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, the province of Delhi to Rai Patar Dās, the provinces of Agra the capital, Allahabad, Bengal and Behar to Rai Rām Dās. Though Qulīj K. received<sup>1</sup> the reports, yet this act of foresight was done on account of the extent of the country. H.M. also attended to the matter of the currency, and the old diseases of silver and gold (coinage) were remedied, as has been described in the last volume.

On the 12th Balarām was killed. He was the brother's son of Rajah Bhagwant Dās. As the turbulence of youth led him into the commission of improprieties, he fell out of favour and was dismissed to Behar to the charge of Rajah Mān Singh. In Benares he mounted an elephant while in a state of intoxication, and then wanted to get down again at an unfitting place. Miṣrī Khanyagar (musician) was acting as driver, and as he had some sense he refused to let Balarām dismount. The latter abused him, and Miṣrī killed him with his dagger and then let himself down and went off.

One of the occurrences was the capture of 'Umarkot. When Dalpat and Rāwal Bhīm passed by it with a choice army on their way to Tatta, this birthplace of the world's lord fell into their hands without a struggle. The Rai<sup>2</sup> of the place accompanied them in

<sup>1</sup> *Wā mīrasīd*. I am not sure of the meaning. Qulīj K. was Dīwān or Finance Minister after Todar Mal's death. The reference to the Āīn seems to be to B. 35, where we are told that on 26 Bahman in the 36th year Akbar adopted 'Az du daulah's method about the currency. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, p. 393. Probably what is meant by Qulīj K.'s

receiving reports is that he still remained at the head of affairs, and that reports were made to him, but that the work was lightened by the appointment of additional officers.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the Beglār-nāma that his name was Rānā Meg-rāj. See Elliot I. 297. It does not appear that Akbar ever visited 'Umarkot.



performance of service. There was a wonderful piece of fortune in the circumstance that some of the land-owners had filled up the wells and had poisoned them. Consequently the soldiers were in that sandy land distressed for want of water. They remembered the holy personality and prayed to God, and then sate down and waited in expectation. Suddenly rain fell, though it was out of season, and the dried-up tanks ran over with water. 606

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rai Rai Singh to Tattah. When the victorious troops succeeded in the river-fight, and when owing to the folly of shortsighted persons there was delay in advancing, the enemy who had been disconcerted made a stand. After much discussion, the fort which M. Jānī had constructed, was invested on 9 Āzar. There was hot fighting, and every day the brave men on each side distinguished themselves. One day, Sikandar Beg, who was among the noted men on the imperialists' side, was wounded in the leg by a bullet, and after some time he died. The enemy were confident on account of the strength of their position, number of men, abundance of provisions, and the help of the peasantry, and were watching for the rains. Then everything would be under water, and the foreign army would be dispersed without an engagement. Among the imperialists, provisions became very dear, and consternation seized upon the weak-hearted. The Khān-Khānān reported the circumstances and asked for help. On the 21st Rai Rai Singh was sent off. Khāki Gallabān, Khawāja Hisāmu-d-dīn and other brave men went by the river-route. Provisions, guns, gunpowder (*dārū*), etc. were dispatched.

One of the occurrences was the death of Gūrdhan (Gordhan of B.), the son of Rajah Askaran. Rajah Prithīrāj was the head of the Kachhwāha clan. He had eighteen<sup>1</sup> sons of whom ten were by one mother. When he died, Pūran Mal his eldest son was raised to the Rajahship. He was killed in M.<sup>2</sup> Hindāl's battle. Sūjā his son was young, and they raised his (Pūranmal's) brother Ratan Sai to the headship. He from the turbulence of youth, and bad companionship, insulted men. Some instigated Askaran his step-brother to attack his life in hopes of the chiefship, and with the help of wicked

<sup>1</sup> Tod says 17, and that 12 of them grew up.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently referring to the victory Hindāl obtained over the Mirzās. See translation I. 322.



men, the idea became fact. For some time things happened according to his wish. In a short time his uncle<sup>1</sup> Bārahmal obtained the power. His (Sūjā's?) sons were always lying in wait for Askaran. Karan, in revenge for his ancestor (*nīyāg*), chose to become Askaran's servant and on the 23rd, when he got an opportunity, he killed the Raja's son in the father's presence, and then made an attack on the latter. A pillar saved him from harm, and active men killed Karan. The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his graciousness on his mansion, and by his cordial commiseration healed somewhat the wound of those who had been deprived of a child.

<sup>1</sup> According to B. 458, Askaran was a brother of Rajah Behārī Mal. See also his article in the Calcutta Review for April 1871, which gives a genealogical tree. Though Askaran is stated in the T.A. to have been an officer of the rank of the 3000, his name is not mentioned in A. F.'s list. Tod calls Askaran the son of Bhīm and says Askaran killed his father because his father had killed his own father Prithīrāj! Behārī Mal was a son of Prithīrāj and younger brother of Pūran Mal. See the *Māaṣir-al-'umrā* II. III. The author of that work puts most of the Hindus under the letter R. on account of their being Rajahs. There is some confusion in A. F.'s narrative,

caused by his affected brevity; possibly also, the text is corrupt, Blochmann in the article above referred to calls Ratn Sai Ratn Singh. Apparently, Karn, who was Sūjā's son, killed Askaran's son in revenge for his granduncle's murder. Sūjā, or Soja, grew up and in the 6th year, A.N. II. 155, we find him leagued with M. Sharafu-d-dīn in oppressing Bihārī Mal. As B. remarks, the disturbances consequent on Pūran Mal's death ended with the appointment or usurpation of Bihārī Mal. He adds that Askaran was adopted to the guddee of Narwar, and so his branch (*gotrī*) became extinct.



## CHAPTER CVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 37TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, 607  
TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDĪN OF THE 4TH CYCLE.

On Friday, 5 Jamāda-al-akharī 1000 Hījra, 11 March 1592, after the passing of 10 hours, 5 minutes, the glorious Sun illumined Aries, and filled the world with varied delight. Beauty acquired fresh splendour, and the Age received new ornament.

*Verse.*

The awnings were raised up to heaven.  
The blemishes of the skies were veiled.  
On every wall there were skilful paintings.  
Heaven was astonished as if they were demon-wrought.<sup>1</sup>

The third cycle ended and the fourth began. Together with strength of heart, and the glory of dawn, a window of enlightenment opened partially and brightness took possession of my darkened mind. A fresh desire to continue my narrative seized me, and my strength increased.

*Verse.*

Again, my fortune became lightsome;  
The delight of speech possessed my soul.  
When fortune supplies the opening key  
A jewel emerges from the dark stone.

From New Year's day to the culmination (*sharf*) there were continued feasts, and liberality exceeded desire. A prosperous time ensued for the desert-wanderer, and a new veil was placed over spiritual beauty. The cup<sup>2</sup> of worldly success and of joy arrived, but

<sup>1</sup> The lines are extravagant and not easily intelligible. I presume that a play is intended on the two meanings of *dewār*. In the third line it means a wall and in the fourth

demon-like. Add. 27,247 has *naqsh pargār*, and the Bib. Ind. has this as a variant.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is obscure. *Baja-hatmandī* in text is a mistake for



the Shāhinshāh's fortune made this the material of increased wisdom. That day was hostile to reason and taught disturbance, and was a robber of purity. This day is a day of increase of wisdom, and bears rectitude in its breast.

At this time news came that Jalāla had returned unsuccessful from Tūrān, and that he was stirring up strife in the defiles of Tīrāh, and that the tribes of the Afrīdī and Ūrakzaī had broken their allegiance, and had given a position to that turbulent one. An order was given that Qāsīm K. should collect the Afghan (Zābulī) army and should proceed to chastise those hot-headed ones. On New Year's day Aṣaf K., Sāid K., Gakkar, and some others, were sent off from court, and an order was given that the fief-holders of Sind and Peshawar should be collected, and should join the Tīrāh force. In a short time the hill-country was surrounded, and the Afghans had recourse to supplications and cajolery. They represented that Jalāla had not got a footing, and that he had gone back unsuccessful. Qāsīm K. returned to Kabul without fully inquiring into the matter and without submitting a report to court. Aṣaf K. and the other officers remained there and waited for orders. H.M. did not approve of Qāsīm K.'s haste, and issued an order that he should return and exert himself in making inquiries.

*baḥtmandī*. Evidently, there is an allusion to Jamshed's cup, and to the difference in the fortunes of the two monarchs who introduced the

solar year. The passage is wanting in the Cawnpore edition, and also in B.M. Add. 27,247.



## CHAPTER CVIII.

THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE DEFEAT OF M. JĀNĪ BEG BY THE FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH. 608

When the Khān-Khānān invested the fort, provisions became very dear on account of its being a foreign country, and of the closing of the roads, and the position of the soldiers became somewhat difficult. They were compelled to abandon the siege on 27 Dai of the previous year. All unnecessary<sup>1</sup> stores were put into boats and sent to Sehwan. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, and others were sent with them as guards. Most of the soldiers marched towards Tatta in order that by plundering they might get ampler supplies, and also spread consternation among the enemy, and get hold of the country. The Khān-Khānān took up his quarters in Jūn,<sup>2</sup> which is a central place. Shāh Beg K., Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Qāsim Koka, Murtaẓā Qulī, Dād Māl, Dūda Beg and others were sent to Agham<sup>3</sup> in order that they might take that cultivated country and watch over M. Jānī. Dhārū Bahādur,<sup>4</sup> Khān Qūrdār and others were sent towards Badīn.<sup>5</sup> M. Farīdūn Birlās, Jānish Bahādur, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, Sarmadī, Ghāzī K. Bilūc went off towards Tatta. Every band went to a certain tract, and had repose. The enemy were somewhat disturbed on account of their families, and many of the landowners submitted. Every detachment did good service, but the troops who were sent to Tatta could not get there as the wicked people set fire to the city. M. Farīdūn and Rāwal

<sup>1</sup> *Besh az nāgazīr*. "Above the indispensable." The *Iqbāl-nāma* and Chalmers show that this refers to stores.

<sup>2</sup> See translation I. 380, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> باکھم *ba kuham*. The *Iqbāl-nāma* has *barkahan*. But Agham or Akhum is correct. It is known as the place where Shāh Beg died. See

Malet 86 and Elliot I. App. 502 and 362. It was 30 m. S.E. Haidarābād.

<sup>4</sup> This is Todar Mal's son. He was shortly afterwards killed.

<sup>5</sup> Madbin مدبن in text, but Badīn seems to be the true reading. See Elliot I. 250. There is a Bādīn S.E. Haidarābād.



Bhīm<sup>1</sup> and some others were sent to 'Umarkot, and made fitting inquiry into the previous slackness of service (of the Rānā ?). M. Jānī Beg came out of his fort and hastened to Sehwān, thinking that he might lay hands on the boats that had been sent there. On hearing of this, the Khān-Khānān sent Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, Dhāru Bahādur K., Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Daulat K. Lodī, S'aīd K. Kararānī, and some able men, to that quarter and followed them in person. At the time when the men in the boats were disconcerted, the troops sent arrived and remedied matters. Many thought that they should strengthen Lukhī (Lukh means pass in Bilūchī) and wait for reinforcements. At the words of brave men they prepared for battle. The army was drawn up. In the centre were Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Sher K., Kalān K., Daulat K. Lodī, S'aīd K. Kararānī, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī. In the right wing were Mīr Māṣūm Bhakkārī, and a number of brave men. On the left wing were Saiyid Bahau-d-dīn and other brave men. In the vanguard were Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Shamsheer 'Arab, Ibrāhīm Beg, Jūlak Beg, Murshid Qulī, Shāh Qulī Turkamān. They bravely, and under the guidance of fortune, passed Lukhī and encamped six *kos* from the enemy. On the 21st (Farwardīn) they advanced four *kos* with the intention

609 of giving battle. Before the battle began they were rejoiced by the news<sup>2</sup> of victory. For some days the wind had been blowing from the other side. At this time it blew from this (the imperial) side and gave the news of victory. The battle soon began. First, the enemy's van under the command of Khusrū prevailed over the force opposed to it and also scattered the right wing. Shamsheer 'Arab fought bravely in the vanguard; his friends carried him off wounded. Dhārū and others displayed courage. He was wounded in the forehead with a spear and fell from his horse. Soon he played away the coin of life. The enemy's right wing under the command of Malik Muḥammad drove off their opponents, and a number pushed aside Nāhar K. and came as far as the camp, and proceeded to plunder. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn fell upon the enemy's van which was existing in its success. He placed a stream between him and them (?) and stood to fight. On account of the wind and dust they could

<sup>1</sup> It appears from I.O. MS. 236 that a conjunction has here dropped out of the text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bhagwant Dās's remark to Akbar, *ante* p. 50.



not see one another. In that place of commotion the imperial centre encountered the enemy's right wing, and after a severe contest defeated it. But on account of the darkness the brave men of this force got separated. Bahādur K., Daulat K. and some others stood firm on the battlefield, and were a spectacle (?). Suddenly Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, and Khwāja Mūqīm joined them, and there was a great contest. Similarly the enemy got scattered and did not know where the others were. M. Jānī was on the battlefield with 400 men and in a confused state. The victorious army went quickly there. The Mīrzā, thinking that the centre was now coming, became still more confused. Meanwhile an elephant from that (the enemy's) side became furious and disorganised his own men. There was a slight contest, and the enemy, owing to the Divine aid, took to flight. 300 were killed, and 100 of the victorious troops. Though the Mīrzā turned several times and fought, but of what avail was it to struggle against daily-increasing fortune, although the enemy was more than 5000 and the victorious troops only 1200? Victory declared itself, and the wondrous working of celestial aid was impressed on all. The commander was at a distance and there was no great officer there, and there was much confusion in the beginning of the battle! Dilpat had a choice force, but from cowardice he did not come forward. During this rejoicing, news came of the plundering of the camp. Some active men went quickly there, and the plunderers threw down their booty and fled. The camp became peaceful. On hearing of this good news, the Khān-Khānān proceeded to the fort which M. Jānī had made for his protection, and destroyed it.<sup>1</sup>

On 22 Farwardīn the world's lord embarked on a boat and proceeded to the garden of M. Kāmraṇ. He enjoyed the spectacle of the spring. Next morning a happy-starred daughter was born in the harem of the Prince-Royal by the sister<sup>2</sup> of Abiyā Kashmīrī. At this time news came that Qareṣh Sultān<sup>3</sup> had died in Hājipūr **610**

<sup>1</sup> A.F.'s account may be compared with M'aṣūm Bhakkarī's, Elliot I. 250, and the T. A. Elliot V. 463. This account says Daulat Lodi marched 80 *kos* in two days.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this is the daughter

of the prince of Kashmīr referred to in Price's *Jahāngīr* 20. Abiyā is perhaps Yūsūf Shāh's son.

<sup>3</sup> Or Quraish Sultān, B. 459. He was a son of 'Abdu-r-rashid of Kashghar. See *ante*, p. 553.



of diarrhœa. The graciousness of the Shāhinshah removed the survivors from the dark days of sorrow. On the 25th the writer of the book of fortune was exalted to a *manṣab* of 2000. He was raised to this high dignity without having performed any distinguished service. I hope that I may return some thanks by the tongue of action, and that the appreciativeness of my lord may become manifest. On the 29th the lunar weighing took place, and far and near obtained their desires.

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## CHAPTER CIX.

CONQUEST OF ORISSA BY THE DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE OF THE  
SHĀHINSHĀH.

There have always been independent rulers in this country. Among them there was formerly Partāb Deo. His son Narsingh Deo<sup>1</sup> out of wickedness rose up against his father, and lulled him into carelessness by the repeating of charms. When he got an opportunity, he poisoned him and acquired eternal death. About that time Mūkund<sup>2</sup> Deo had come from Telingāna, and entered into the service of the Rajah. He was indignant on beholding this wickedness, and resolved upon vengeance. He represented that his wife was coming to pay a visit<sup>3</sup> (to the Rajah) and filled litters (*dolīs*) with arms and sent them off. He also put presents and goods into the hands of skilful and courageous men, and entered the fort. Inasmuch as a parricide does not last long, the latter was soon disposed of, and the sovereignty went to another. It was not the custom that the Rajah should use the accumulations of his predecessors. This one (Mukund) broke the locks of seventy old treasuries and seized upon the deposits of so many of the departed. Though he opened the hand of liberality, yet he turned away from obedience to wisdom, and indulged in self-gratification. At the time when Sikandar Uzbeg turned away from eternal fortune, and went to Sulaimān Kararānī, the latter sent his son Bayāzīd on an expedition against that country (Orissa) by way of Jhārkhand, and dispatched Sikandar along with him.

<sup>1</sup> Called Bir Singh, in the M'aasir and in some MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II. 255, where it is stated that he was also called Parmanand Rai. Mukund succeeded in 1550, and was defeated by Kālā Pahār in 1568. Beames' Notes, J.A.S.B. for 1883, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> I.O. MS. 235 says the pretext was that Mukund's wife was going to visit the Rajah's wife, and it speaks of Mukund's sending 200 men in charge of the presents. Chalmers also speaks of 200 men, and so do the Iqbāl-nāma, and the M'aasir II. 163.



The Rajah, yielding to self-indulgence, sent two chosen officers Jihata Rai<sup>1</sup> and Durgā Panj, with a well-equipped force, to make war. Those ingrates corrupted the officers of the army by gold and turned to attack their own master by the help of the slaves of gold. Hot engagements ensued, and the Rajah surrendered himself to failure and submitted to Bayāzīd. With his aid, a severe conflict took<sup>2</sup> place, and the Rajah and Jihata Rai manfully yielded up their lives. The government fell into the hands of Durgā Panj. Sulaimān by stratagem got possession of his person and put him to death, and became supreme over the country. Though in the time of Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān and Khānjahān, much of this country was added to the empire, yet from divided thought, and the ignorance of officers, Qutlū Lohānī prevailed over it. Owing to his foxiness no harm ensued to him. When he died, Rajah Mān Singh ignorantly  
**611** made peace. Though H.M.'s far-seeing mind disapproved of it, yet it was they who broke the treaty.

When the time of retribution arrives for an evil-doer, he exerts himself for his own destruction. So long as Khwāja 'Īsā, Qutlū's *Vakīl*, lived, the thread of treaty was not let slip. When he died, the wicked Afghans laid hold of the temple of the worship of Jagannāth, and opened the hand of plunder against the country of Hamīr,<sup>3</sup> who had for a long time been obedient (to Akbar). Rajah Mān Singh, who repented of the peace he had made, resolved to conquer the country, and obtained leave from the court. He chose the soldiers of Behar and Bengal for this enterprise. On 23 Ābān of the previous year, the Rajah set off by the route of the river. Tolak K., Farkh K., Ghāzī K. Maidānī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Rai Bhoj, Sangrām Singh, Akkar Pancānan, Catar Sen, Bhūpat Singh, Barkhūrdār, and other warriors went by land. Mādhū, Lakhī Rai Koka, Pūran Mal Kaidhūrih, Rūp Narain Sīsodiah and some land-

<sup>1</sup> These names are very doubtful and vary with MSS. Cf. the translation of the passage in Elliot VI. 88. Cf. also the M'aasir II. 163.

<sup>2</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma explains that this severe conflict was between the Rajah, supported by Bāyazīd, and his own officers and army. Presum-

ably the Rajah and Jihata were on opposite sides. The Iqbāl-nāma apparently has Jīt Rai.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Hamīr of Bishenpūr in Bankurah who sheltered Jagat, the son of Mān Singh, after his defeat. See *ante*, p. 580.



holders went off by the route of Jhārkand under the charge of Yūsuf K., the ruler of Kashmīr. When the victorious troops came to Bengal, S'aīd K. the governor of that country was ill. The Rajah moved onwards, and when S'aīd K. got well, he joined with Makḥṣūṣ K., Pahār<sup>1</sup> K., Tāhir K., Bābūi Manklī, Khwāja Bāqar Anṣārī, Makhdūmzāda the son of Tarson K., M. Muḥammad Dīwāna, and other fief-holders of that country, together with 6000 men and 500 horse. Much of that country came into possession. The wicked Afghans broached the subject of a peace. Inasmuch as to try experiments when one has had experience does not accord with foresight, they did not give ear to this, but reproached them for their breach of treaties. But the view of the Bengal officers was for peace. The wicked and black-thoughted Afghans surrounded themselves with a stream at the forest of Malnāpūr<sup>2</sup> (?), which is in the middle of Orissa, and took their stand to fight. On account of the talk about peace and war, there was no proper drawing-up of forces. The Bengal army settled down at some distance, but among them, Makḥṣūṣ K., Pahār<sup>3</sup> K., Tāhir K. and Bābūi Manklī advanced their camp somewhat. The Bihar soldiers prepared for battle. Rajah Mān Singh was in the centre; on the right wing were Rai Bhoj, Rajah Sangrām, Bāqir K.; on the left wing were Tolak K., and Farrakh K.; in the vanguard were Darjan Singh, Sujān Singh, Sabal Singh, Nūram Koka, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Shībabu-d-dīn Kūr, the sons of Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Moẓaffar Ījī, Khwājagī 'Inayāt Ullah. Every day some active men on each side fought and the presumptuous foe fled in disgrace. On 31 Farwardīn the Rajah sent off his vanguard, to take an eminence (*sarkob*)<sup>4</sup> which 612 was near the enemy, and to proceed to build a fort. If the enemy meant to fight, they should engage him, and he (the Rajah) would join them. The enemy were astonished at this, and drew up their forces and crossed the river. In the centre were Naṣīb K., and Jamāl K.,

<sup>1</sup> Corrected in Errata from Bahādur. See B. 405. But according to Jahāngīr, Price 34, Pahār K. was a Hindu and the uncle of Mān Singh. Probably they were different men.

<sup>2</sup> The I.O. MSS. seem to have Bīnāpūr. Elliot VI. 89 has Midna-

pūr! Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1883, p. 236, says the battle was fought on N. bank Subanrekha.

<sup>3</sup> Bahādur in text, but see Errata.

<sup>4</sup> The author of the Iqbāl-nāma seems to have read sar-i-kulī, head of a tank, for he has sar-i-tālābī.



(who were) the sons of Qutlū, Dilāwar K., Allahdād K., Ḥabīb K., with 3000 horse and 25 elephants. On the right wing were Jalāl K., Khāṣa Khel, Tātār K. Ghāzī, Mubārak K., Khwāja Wais with 2000 horse and 25 elephants. On the left wing were Bahādur Kūrūh, Sher K. Lohānī, Ḥabīb K. with 3400 horse and 25 elephants. In the vanguard were Khwāja Sulaimān, ‘Uṣmān, ‘Īsā K. Auliyāī, Banī Sultān Sūr with 1200 horse and 80 elephants. In a short time the two forces met, and shields and daggers were abundant (lit. had a day-market).

*Verse.*

Eager heroes sunk in coats of mail,  
Like fire hidden in iron vessels.  
Sons of India clad in steel,  
Like black clouds, raged and burned.

Some strove with guns and other firearms, and some grappled with one another and gave a new form to courage. The victorious soldiers struck off heads<sup>1</sup> with their shining swords, as maces and clubs were not of service. Cannon-balls at the commencement killed the elephant Mīyān Loharī<sup>2</sup> which was the chief of the enemy's elephants, together with other elephants. The latter then brought forward the elephant Kunhar<sup>3</sup>—which was very famous—and the brave soldiers displayed masterpieces of valour. Mīr Jamshēd Badakhshī fought and bravely gave up his life. The elephant caused some confusion, but the archers came up on every side with arrows. The driver was killed, and some men dismounted and lamed the elephant and seized it. Meanwhile Bahādur Kūrūh prevailed over Farrakh K. Rai Bhoj and Rajah Sangrām hastened to his assistance. Jagat Singh and some brave men joined Durjan Singh, and drove off the foe. At this time, the enemy's right wing contended with the soldiers of Bengal. Bābūī Manklī fought, but had to give ground. Pahār<sup>4</sup> K. came behind him and fought nobly. Twice he fell to the ground. The second time a young man offered him his own horse. He replied, You have not yet had the fruit of

<sup>1</sup> Text *sipare* "shields," but the MSS. and context show that *sire* "heads" is the true reading.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* has *Luharī*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kahtar* in MSS.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 611. *Pahār* was a servant of *Humāyūn*. See B. 405.



your life. Mount your horse, and rejoice. It is better for me, who have come to the end of my life, to die in combat in my master's service. By good hap his horse (*bāragī*)<sup>1</sup> came up and he was saved by Divine help. *Makhṣūṣ* K. came forward well, and did great deeds. The foot of courage was nearly slipping, when *Khwāja* 'Abdu-l-ḥalīm came with a force, and there was victory. *Khwāja* Wais fell bravely, and Sultān Sūr was made prisoner. In a short time, in consequence of the Divine aid, the rebels fled with blistered 613 feet. More than 300 Afghans fell on the field of battle, and forty of victorious army.

At this time Zain K. Koka expressed a wish that H.M. should visit his quarters again. On 3 *Ardībihisht*, his desire was gratified, and that good servant obtained his heart's wish. In the beginning of *Khurdād* H.M. crossed the *Rāvī* with the intention of proceeding to *Kashmīr*. As *Shakranisā* Begam (Akbar's daughter) became very ill, H.M. took a dislike to the city, and went out with this intention. When God quickly sent convalescence, he returned at the desire of high and low. On the 2nd, Zain K. Koka was dispatched to *Swād* and *Bajaur*. News came that the turbulent Afghans had again thought their difficult mountains a protection, and were meditating rebellion. The *Kokaltāsh* was appointed to chastise them. On the 4th, after the lapse of ten hours four minutes, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Sultān *Khwāja*. H.M. gave her the name of *S'aādat*<sup>2</sup> *Bānū* Begam.

<sup>1</sup> *Bāragī* is given in Vullers and in Steingass as meaning a horse, and also as a packhorse. The word seems connected with *bārgīr*, i.e. load-carrier, and is probably a variant of it. In the *Ayīn*, *bārgīr* seems to be used for the horse and not for the rider; the latter being called *bārgīr suwār*. See B. 139 and 215, also Wilson's Glossary. *Bārgīr* is in common use in India as meaning

a trooper's comrade or one who does not ride his own horse. I have heard it explained as a corruption of *bāhū*, *gīr*, one who takes another's arm, that is, a dependant. Perhaps all that is meant here is that *Pahār* K.'s horse came back to him, and this is the *Iqbāl-nāma* account. At p. 620, of A.N. III, six lines from foot, *bāragī* is used for a riding horse.

<sup>2</sup> B. 619.



## CHAPTER CX.

## M. JĀNĪ BEG MAKES PEACE AND SURRENDERS SĪWISTĀN.

When by daily-increasing fortune the victorious troops prevailed, it was time that the Mīrzā should waken from the heavy slumbers of ignorance, and have recourse to supplication, and should make apologies the material of obedience. Out of arrogance and self-complacency he regarded his defeat as accidental and again resolved on battle. He resolved that he should proceed all the quicker, and take refuge in the former shelter. On the way he learnt that it was the camp of the victorious troops. He halted to deliberate, and summoned a council to decide on a stronghold. After long contemplation, he approved of a place near Ampūr<sup>1</sup> four *kos* from Hālākandī<sup>2</sup> and forty *kos* from Sehwān. There, on the bank of the Indus, he built a fort, and surrounded it with a deep and broad moat. On 26 Farwardīn the Khān-Khānān came there and invested the place. He was answered by arrows and bullets, and there was a brisk time of losing and taking life. The enemy was made arrogant by his long residence, his numerous army, large fleet of war-boats, and the nearness of the rains. At this time the fort of Nīrankot<sup>3</sup>—which is a choice fortress in that country—was taken. There was a great success.<sup>4</sup> A set of Arabs and Kurds, who were in the fort, **614** quarrelled with the governor Qāsim ‘Alī, and brought in his head, and became loyal. The imperial servants were delighted, and increased their efforts to take the place. After the custom of the Turks,

<sup>1</sup> Oonurpūr in Malet's translation of T. M'aṣūmī. Unarpūr and Amar-pūr in Elliot VI. 251. So also in I.O. MS. 236. Text Ampūr or An-pūr probably wrong. Perhaps the place is the Arpūr of J. II. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Text Bālākandī, but the variant Hālākandī is right. It lies thirty

m. above Haidarābad. Elliot I. Appendix 379.

<sup>3</sup> The old name of Haidarābad according to some, but see Elliot I. Appendix 396, who says it certainly was not Haidarābad.

<sup>4</sup> In the Errata, *niburd* is changed into *nīrū*.



they raised up mounds of sand and carried forward their batteries, and set about filling up the moat. From within they made fissures and emptied the mounds. Great efforts were made on both sides. Sometimes the enemy sallied forth and fought, but they returned unsuccessful. However, on account of the strangeness of the land, and the refractoriness of the peasantry, provisions became scarce, and again food became very dear. There was also much sickness. The extraordinary thing was that it only attacked the people of Sind. In that fatal place of trouble some ascetics had a vision to the effect that "the courage of the country was being impressed with the Shāh-inshāh's name, and that the heavens were revolving at his pleasure. The people were beholding the retribution of their disobedience, and were suffering the punishment thereof. The panacea for high and low was to recognize this, and to acquire bliss by supplicating the Unique of the age, and to offer presents in accordance with their means, and give them to the needy." Next morning the secret was revealed, and the proposition was carried into effect. The sickness diminished. When this was reported to H.M. he said, "The True Artist (God) made an old woman the means of the health of a tribe; if He make this servant, who sits upon a lofty seat of rule, a source of good, what is there to cause surprise?" In the time of the great f. Qāān, Cingīz K., in the year 623 (A.D. 1226), the army had invested the fort of Kark<sup>1</sup>-Sīstān (?), and a great pestilence broke out. On the first day there was fever. On the second the teeth loosened. On the third the cup of life became full. An old woman had a daughter. Her nights turned to days in her anxiety to get her married. Might she grow up and might her mother acquire happiness by staining her with henna. At this time this old woman was seized by sickness. On the second day when the teeth became loose, she, out of love and simplicity, employed herself in putting henna on her darling (lit. her liver-lobe). According to common usage a little spittle was used. Thinking of the bridal, night passed into day (i.e. she lay awake), and she shed tears of sorrow. In the morning, when she was ready to depart, her teeth ceased to chatter, and there were signs of improvement. The neighbours were astonished.

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<sup>1</sup> There is the variant Kok, but the Iqbāl-nāma has Gargistan (Georgia) and this is probably right.



When they inquired, they could perceive nothing except the use of henna. High and low used it, and a world was delivered from danger of life. Henna became of the value of pearls, and the merchants made great profits.

H.M. sent abundant provisions and money by Allah Bakhsh, and Qazzāq Bahādur. They arrived in the height of the distress, and hearts received new strength. New efforts were made, and the work was advanced. In a short time the garrison was straitened, and the batteries were brought so near that they could pull the spears out of each other's hands. The garrison were troubled and begged for peace with a thousand entreaties. The soldiers accepted the proposals on account of the scarcity of provisions. The agreement was made that Siwīstān, with the fort of Sehwān, and twenty *ghrābs*,  
**615** should be given up, and that M. Jānī should accept Īrij, the Khān-Khānān's son, as a son-in-law, and that when the rains were over, he would go and prostrate himself at the threshold. It was agreed that in the first place the siege should be stopped, and afterwards the marriage would take place. When Sehwān was made over, they would spend the rains there. On the 16th Khurdād, the batteries were dismantled, and ceremonies of betrothal performed. Men hastened to give up and to take possession of the fort.

On the 17th Qāzī Hasan was sent to the northern hills. As the Tamūz (July) of Lahore was very hot, he was sent off there to look for summer quarters. Near the town of Panhān<sup>1</sup> a proper place was chosen, but on account of certain reasons the idea was abandoned.

One of the occurrences was the submission of the rebels of the eastern province. When the imperialists were victorious, they pursued the enemy and arrived next day at Jellalore which is one of the great cities of Orissa. They adorned the face of the coins with H.M.'s name and exalted the dignity of the pulpits by it. Every tribe of the Afghans retired. The Rajah continued to advance in order to dig up the root of disaffection. S'aīd K. was displeased and returned to Bengal, not accepting the blandishments of the Rajah. Pahār K., Bābūi Manklī, Bāqar K., Mīr Ghāzī, Bāqar Anṣārī separated from S'aīd K., and joined the Rajah. In a short time the landowners asked for quarter, and the country came into possession. In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. 56 and 616, who states that the proper name is Pathānkot.



the town of Bhadrak, news was received that the sons of Qutlū (and) Khwāja Sulaimān, Dilāwar K., Jalāl K., Bahādur Kūrūh, Ulugh K., ‘Abdul-l-Ghafūr, Malik Ḥaibat, Malik Dāūd, Kaham Karn, Rajah Mānū, Malik Sikandar, and Purukhotam had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants. That fort is at the end of the country and on the seashore. It belonged to Rajah Rām Cand who was a great landholder in that country. It was called Sārangarh.<sup>1</sup> Rajah Mān Singh left Sujān Singh, and some others in the city and went off to attack the fort, and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea. The fort was taken without a contest. ‘Alāwal K., the khāṣkhel of Qutlū, surrendered the fort of Āl.<sup>2</sup> Near Kalkalghātī, the Tīla<sup>3</sup> Rajah, who is a distinguished landowner in that part, joined the victorious army. Rajah Rām<sup>4</sup> Cand admitted those who had taken protection to Sārangarh. When Rajah Mān Singh came to Cuttack he left Yūsuf K. the ruler of Kashmīr, the sons of Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Mozaffar Ījī, and others, to guard it, and went off to pay his devotions at Jagannāth. His idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Rām Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him (?). When his thought had been realized he returned and took up his quarters near Salī (?). Every day active men went forth and inflicted chastisement. In consequence of counsels he (Rajah Rām Cand) became obedient, and sent his son<sup>5</sup> Bīrbal with presents. The Rajah returned to Cuttack and established the foot 616 of conquest near the fort of Sārangarh. At this time news came that Ḥabīb K., Daryā K., Sujāwal K., Mewa K., who had taken refuge with Fath K. of Hijlī, had fallen upon Jellasore, and that Bābūī Manklī had not found himself strong enough to fight and had retired. The Rajah sent Pahār K. and some brave men to that quarter, and soon the enemy was scattered without an engagement, and Jellasore again came into possession. The slumbrous ones of Sārangarh awoke from their sleep of neglect. On the 20th they accepted quarter and waited upon the Rajah: Every one was made hopeful of princely favours.

At this time the victorious army of Sind were in some distress,

<sup>1</sup> Three miles S. Cuttack.

<sup>2</sup> J. II. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Taliya of J. II. 142.

<sup>4</sup> He was Rajah of Khurda and Pūrī, B. 489.

<sup>5</sup> Iqbāl-nāma has Harmal.



but soon it became joyful. When peace was made, and the batteries were dismantled, M. Jānī Beg—before that he had obtained leave, and had made over Sehwān—went off to Tatta. The victorious troops thought they had been deceived, and were under apprehensions. Able men were sent to make inquiries. The Mīrzā (Jānī Beg) represented that the atmosphere of the fort had become dangerous on account of the numbers of dead bodies, and that the position of the survivors had become critical. Some of the soldiers and peasants wished to go to their homes. On that account he had given them leave. The whole camp had been harassed, and so without saying anything it had followed them. No one remained with him and so out of helplessness he too had gone off and halted in Naṣīrpūr. God forbid, he said, that I should drop the thread of treaty, or that my words and actions should not correspond. On the 31st they made their quarters in the town of Sunn,<sup>1</sup> and on this day Rustam the governor of Sehwān came and renewed the treaty. He made over the fort to Ḥasan ‘Alī ‘Arab, and to Maqṣūd Āqā, and all Sīwistān was added to the empire. On 22 Tīr, Prince Sultān Daniel took leave in order to capture Qandahār. As the guardians of that country were not equal in strength to the Mīrzās, this jewel of fortune (Daniel) was sent there. He crossed the Rāvī, and alighted in the garden of Rām Dās. On 24th (Tīr), 4th July 1592, H.M. set off to Kashmīr, and his first stage was this same garden. On the 27th, 300 little <sup>2</sup> stars fell from west to east. The Indian astronomers represented that if the first stage exhibited such an appearance they should return and set out again at a chosen hour. The Shāh and the Shāhzāda were obliged to go back.

<sup>1</sup> The T.A. says that Sunn (or Sann) is opposite Sehwān. But A. F. III. 633 says it is twenty *kos* distant.

<sup>2</sup> *Silārca*, but the variant *safed pārcā*, white objects or clothes, is more likely to be right and is sup-

ported by MSS. 300 falling stars could hardly have been counted. The phenomenon was probably like the cobwebs which A.F. mentions as falling on one occasion in the neighbourhood of Agra (see p. 116).



## CHAPTER CXI.

## H.M. PROCEEDS TO KASHMĪR.

For a long time he was inclined to go to that country. Most men were averse to his going on account of the difficulty of the journey. Those who had hearts bent on the enjoyment of their master regarded the difficulties of the ravines as slight, but they represented that it could not be proper for H.M.—whose empire it took a year to traverse—to go off to a corner thereof, and to enter that mountainous country. Some farsighted men were convinced from H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries, that there was a secret involved **617** in his intention, and that this expedition would result in glory. On 12 Amardād,<sup>1</sup> 22nd July 1592, in spite of clouds of rain and the opposition of men, he set out. Several ladies accompanied him. On the 17th he advanced from Rāmbārī,<sup>2</sup> but from the abundance of water there was no place found for his advance-tent (*peshkhāna*). He left the camp and the soldiers under the charge of Prince Sulṭān Selīm in order that he might bring them on slowly, and went off on elephants with some chosen courtiers. At Shāham<sup>3</sup> 'Alī, Qulīj K. and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn were sent back to the city. Near this place a woman brought her son and represented that every year his head was growing larger, and his neck becoming weak. No benefit had come from physicians. H.M. bade her to put a leathern cap tightly on the child's head. She did so and the thing was remedied. The skilful were astonished at this cure. On the 28th near Khaima<sup>4</sup> Chatha (?) the Kashmīr insurrection became known, and the veil fell from the holy purpose. A world had collyrium applied to its eyes.

<sup>1</sup> 24 Shawwāl 1000. Elliot V. 462.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be another name for Rām Dās Bāgh.

<sup>3</sup> The text makes Shāham 'Alī a person apparently, but it is a place. See *ante*, p. 600. The T.A. says they

were sent back 3 *kos* from Rām Dās Bāgh. It names the Mota Rajah instead of Shamsu-d-dīn.

<sup>4</sup> I.O. MS. 236 has *casma* a fountain, or perhaps cīma.



More extraordinary still, when he was crossing the Rāvī, he asked “of whom is this verse said?”

*Verse.*<sup>1</sup>

Alas, Alas! how have the Cyrus-cap and Shāh’s tiara  
Become the portion of a bald man?

When the confidant<sup>2</sup> of M. Yūsuf K. represented the increase of the revenue of Kashmīr, Qāzī Nūru-llah and Qāzī ‘Alī were sent to make inquiries. When the Mīrzā’s agents lost hope of getting bribes they adopted evil thoughts. Qāzī Nūrullah came to court and reported the disorganization of the men and their evil intentions. On this information, some of the evil disposed were summoned, and Husain Beg S. ‘Umarī was sent to encourage (the loyal). When the condition of the evil disposed became known in some measure, Darvesh ‘Alī, ‘Ādil Beg, Y‘aqūb Beg Turkamān, Imām Qulī Cūlāq, Qiyā Beg and other servants of M. Yūsuf Beg plotted together to stir up strife. First, they went to Kamālu-d-dīn Husain Asko,<sup>3</sup> who was one of the Aḥadīs, in order to get him to become their leader and to raise a rebellion. He had the auspiciousness not to accept

<sup>1</sup> This verse is quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe, 395. According to the Lucknow ed. the verse is by Niẓāmī. The words in the second line are *bahar kal* “to every bald man,” being a play on the name of Yādgār kal or kul who was the cousin of M. Yūsuf. The Rauzāt Tāhirīn calls him the son of M. Maḥmūd. I have taken *bahar* to mean portion and supposed the *‘izāfat* was omitted for the sake of the metre. Niẓāmu-d-dīn also tells the story. He says Akbar quoted the lines in the garden of Rām Dās, and it would seem (see T.A. Newal Kishor’s ed., p. 377) that the word in the original was *gul* a rose or flower, and that the meaning was that every flower was blooming, and had, as it were, put on the royal

tiara. It appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn (and Badayūnī) that M. Yūsuf had left Kashmīr and had appointed Yādgār, whom he calls his brother’s son, as his deputy. It appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn’s account of Kashmīr (T. Rashīdī, Ross and Elias, Appendix) that he accompanied Akbar there. In the first book of A. F.’s letters, N.K. ed., p. 33, there is a letter from Akbar to his son Murād describing his second journey to Kashmīr. In it Akbar claims to have been inspired to utter the verse about the bald man as he was crossing the Rāvī, and also claims other prophecies.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 595 of text.

<sup>3</sup> Qn. ? Ashu Koh, a form of Shukoh, majesty.



their proposals, and then they made Yādgār<sup>1</sup> the cousin of M. Yūsuf K. their instrument. Every day he took into his head thoughts of sedition and developed mischievousness. One day furious men poured a shower of arrows into the house of Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī. One of his servants had contracted a marriage with a member of that set, but at the instigation of wicked people it was broken<sup>2</sup> off. They made this an opportunity and suddenly attacked the house (of Ḥusain B.). His men had gone away, but he closed the door and stood firm. Qāzī 'Alī and S. Bābā intervened and quelled the tumult. Then they got up a disturbance at the Koh-i-Mārān.<sup>3</sup> Ḥusain Beg collected his men and fought with them. There was a slight engagement, and then peace was made. Some surrendered upon promises and were put to death. Their evil thoughts were nearly **618** being realized in action. Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī were obliged to leave the city and to take up their quarters at the fort of Nāgar-nagar<sup>4</sup> (Akbar's fort). They became somewhat supine and careless. On 12 Amardād, 22nd July 1592, they (the Kashmīrīs) closed the routes and proceeded to rebel. The extraordinary thing was that on this very day H.M. the mystery-knower came out from Lahore. Some people gathered together on the pretext of visiting the melon-beds and made a league. Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī had not the energy to put down this disturbance with vigour and alacrity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta states that he had married the daughter of a Kashmīrī noble.

<sup>2</sup> The I.O. MSS. have *zadand* in the plural, showing that the Kashmīrīs broke off the marriage.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Harī Parbat where Akbar built a fort.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Harī Parbat: see *infra*, p. 726.

<sup>5</sup> A. F.'s account of the revolt is not clear. The Iqbāl-nāma adds a few explanations. It says that the Kam-ālu-d-dīn whom it calls Mīr Kam-ālu-d-dīn, to whom the rebels first applied, was in the service of M. Yūsuf. The rebels offered him the leadership as he was a Saīyid. I do

not know what the title Askū means. One MS. (I.O. 235) has Ashkūk, which means a roof. A variant calls him Bakshī of the Aḥadīs, and perhaps Askū or Ashkū is connected with the Turkish Ishik, a gateway. Ḥusain Beg's biography is given in B. 454, where he is called Ḥasan. He came to a bad end, having joined Khusrū's rebellion. A. F. does not appear to have fully stated the cause of the disturbance at Ḥusain's house. The Iqbāl-nāma says that M. Yūsuf had 5 or 6,000 piādas of the Dilahzāk tribe in his service and that a servant of Ḥusain had carried off the wife of one of them. There is a variant in which



On receiving this information H.M. went on the faster. On 1 Shahriyūr his tents were pitched on the bank of the Cināb, and though there was a storm, and it was raining, he sate on the bank and superintended the crossing. At dawn he crossed in a boat at the Caugān ferry. On the 4th it appeared that the whole of the Mīrzā's troops had joined the Kāshmirīs, and that Qāzī 'Alī had offered up his life in good service, and that Ḥusain Beg had with difficulty saved himself. When Yādgār came out of the city, and they threw away power and opportunity, he came to Kāmraj, and the success of the rebels increased. At this time they awoke from the heavy slumber of carelessness, and hastened after him. But they returned without effecting anything. Though the Mīrzā's sons did not join him (Yādgār), and the imperial servants did not assist him, that worthless madman returned to the city. Near the Ilāhī garden he was victorious after a slight contest. They were compelled to cross the river and come to the city. Both parties broke down the bridges—the rebels for fear that their comrades would desert them, and the other party for fear that the rebels would pursue them. Qāzī 'Alī wished to take shelter with Fath K. Jangalī (?), and to wait for reinforcements. Ḥusain Beg said, "M. Yūsuf K.'s men have all joined the revolt, and it would be very difficult to get there." They were compelled to go rapidly to India. Near Hīrapūr some one from ignorance beat a kettledrum, and the guardians of the roads (*rāh-bānān*) got news by this and broke down the bridges. They were obliged to throw themselves into the water. Some were drowned, and some were captured. Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī and some Badakhshīs escaped and went on. As the Pīr Panjal road had been closed, they went by the defile of Hastī Watar.<sup>1</sup> By strenuous exertions, and by much shooting they escaped. Qāzī 'Alī became exhausted by the heights and hollows, and was caught and killed. When Ḥusain and some others emerged from the hills, the land-owner of the place plundered them, and sought to kill them. Bahabū (?) the chief of Rajaurī came and rescued them.

the defile of Mārān is called Koh-Bārān. The Iqbāl-nāma makes it clear that it was Ḥusain, whom it calls Ḥasan, who broke faith and put some people to death. The I.O. MSS. and the Iqbāl-nāma call the S. Bābā

who helped to quiet the disturbance S. Bābāī Wālī.

<sup>1</sup> See correspondence in R.A.S.J. for April and July 1904. The Iqbāl-nāma has here Hastī Wīr (qn. Watīr or Wairān).



On this news H.M. proceeded more rapidly to that quarter, and an order was given that Zain K. Koka should proceed thither with his men by the route of Swād; that Ṣādiq K. should march by the way of Pūnc,<sup>1</sup> and that the landowners of the northern mountains should start from Jammū, and that the fiefholders and collectors of the Panjāb should encourage some brave peasants and send them off. On 5 Shahrīyūr<sup>2</sup> S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was sent off together with Mīr Murād \* \* \* (six lines of names). On account of the nearness of the fall of snow, the soldiers were sent from every quarter in order that there might be no delay in inflicting retribution. On that day the writer of the noble volume took an omen from the diwān of Hāfiz. These four lines gave the news of victory. 619

*Verse.*

Where is the harbinger which tells of victory  
That I may shed my life at his feet, like silver and gold.  
The stage is en fête on account of the return of the Shāh.  
'Tis time for his antagonists to depart to the screen of annihilation.

On this day M. Yūsuf K. was, on account of foresight, made over to the charge of the writer of the book of fortune. When his family came out of Kashmīr he was released. Near Gujrāt (in the Panjāb) the Prince Royal and the great camp joined H.M., and there was rejoicing. On the 16th, Ṣādiq K. took leave to go forward. When he had gone some stages he made unsuitable requests. H.M.<sup>3</sup> was displeased and recalled him in the middle of his march.

<sup>1</sup> Text Baranj, but I.O. MS. 235 and Iqbāl-nāma have Pūnc which seems preferable. There is however a place called Brang. J. II. 355.

<sup>2</sup> As Farīd Bakhshī was his patron, Faizī Sirhindī has a long account of this expedition. He gives the date of Farīd's setting out as 17 Zīl Q'ada, 15 August 1592. He describes the two roads from Rajaurī and calls one the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass, and says that no army had

passed by it before. Farīd found on inquiry at Rajaurī that Yādgār had destroyed the bridges etc. on the Pīr Pinjal route, and so he chose the Katrīl one. Faizī mentions the Hastivanj Pass and, like A.F., he says it is the last Pass into Kashmīr. In the I.O. MS. it is spelt Hashtganj "The eight markets" (?).

<sup>3</sup> This obscure sentence is explained in the Iqbāl-nāma.



## CHAPTER CXII.

THE CONQUEST OF JŪNAGARH AND SOMNĀTH, AND THE VICTORY OF THE  
IMPERIAL SERVANTS OVER THE COUNTRY OF SORETH.

Right-thinking, and proper, actions produce brilliant results. Success increases, and the countenances of the wishes of servants are brightened. There are various victories, and wondrous works are performed at home and abroad. This tale of victory is a new instance of this. When the Khān 'Āzīm gained his victory, his intention was to take this fort (Jūnagarh), and to annex the country. The vexatious behaviour of his companions caused delay. At this time, when the soldiers were recruited somewhat, he renewed the enterprise, and proceeded to the spot. Khokhan, the son of the

**620** Jaīn, Jalāl K. Ghilzī,<sup>1</sup> Malik Rājan, Malik Aman, and many rebels of that part submitted and came in. Somnāth, Ghogah (Gogo), Mangalūr, Mahwah,<sup>2</sup> Bīrū<sup>3</sup> and others—16 ports in all—were taken without a contest. Afterwards he proceeded to take Jūnagarh which was held by the grandchildren of Amīn K. Ghorī. It is a famous fortress, and the country of Sorath is associated with it. He invested it with seven batteries. Naurang K. and some troops were sent to chastise the Kāthī tribe which was assisting the garrison. On this day fire broke out in the fort and many materials of the strength of the fort were burnt. The Feringhī cannoneer, who had turned Muḥammadan, and who was very skilful in his art, fell in his confusion into the moat. The imperial servants received the good news of victory and raised a pæan of joy. But the garrison, from the abundance of provisions, and the strength of the place, were presumptuous, and every day fired several times a hundred guns—some of which shot balls

<sup>1</sup> Text Ghāzī, but MSS. have Ghilzī.

<sup>2</sup> Mahuwa of I.G. See J. II. 247. It is in the Bhawnagar State, Kāthī-war.

<sup>3</sup> Barwa. Perhaps Barda. But more probably Pur-bandar, J. II. 246. It S.S.E. Dwarka.



weighing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *mans*. They also uttered words of arrogance and contempt. Whenever the soldiers were dispirited, the Kokaltāsh encouraged them in various ways, and renewed efforts. By the guidance of fortune, they became aware of a little hill; they raised it somewhat and prepared a tower (*sirkob*), and from it proceeded to discharge mortars. The somnolent ones were roused from their slumbers and had recourse to entreaties. On 17 Shahriyūr, 27 August 1592, after fighting day and night for three months, the garrison surrendered, and made over the keys. Miyān K., Tāj K., the grandsons of Amīn K. Ghorī, who were the sons of Daulat K.—the former 7 years old and the representative of his father, and the other 12, but from a concubine—Himmat the brother's son of Amīn K., Muḥammad the comptroller of the household, Malik Dahan, Rajān Ḥabshī, Lumba Kāthī, Muḥammad Mīrak, Muḥammad Afzal and others—57 noted men—came out, and owing to the Kokaltash's observance of treaties, their lives, property and honour were preserved, and every one of them was made happy by a cultivated fief, a fine robe of honour, and a choice horse (*bāragī*). Sultān Maḥmud Bīgarhā the ruler of Gujarat with a large and well-equipped army twice tried to take this fort, and experienced great difficulty. On the second occasion he took<sup>1</sup> it after a long time. H.M. was near Bhimbhar and intent on punishing Yādgār when he got the news of victory.<sup>2</sup> He returned yet more earnestly his thanks to God.

<sup>1</sup> In 1470.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is translated in

Elliot VI. 90. The T.A. puts the capture into the 36th year.



## CHAPTER CXIII.

THE CESSATION OF THE DISTURBANCE IN KASHMĪR, AND THE BRINGING  
THE HEAD OF YĀDGĀR KUL TO COURT.

Heaven rises up to take vengeance on every one who commits ingratitude. His day turns to night, and his fortune becomes ruined. **621** By his own efforts he hastens to his retribution and plays away his life and his honour. The case of this man of turbulent brain shows this to all. High and low received instruction from it. When the fly-like and mercenary natures gathered together, and (what has been described) happened to the imperial servants, the sons of M. Yūsuf K. approached him with supplications. He eagerly sent<sup>1</sup> them off to India, and then he crossed the river and went to the Mīrzā's quarters. He laid hold of the treasure, the gold vessels, the elephants, the horses, the cannon, etc., and shamelessly sate in the seat of the mighty. He stained the pulpit-tops (*farāz-i-mimbar*) and the faces of the coins. By glorious fortune at that time, fever and trembling laid hold of him, and when the sealmaker was making his signet, a bit of steel jumped up and entered his eye. This indicated to the acute among the spectators that his career would not be long. In his folly he gave high titles to worthless people. Bahrām Nayik was called Khān-Khānān, Darvesh 'Alī, Khān Jahān, 'Ādil Begī, 'Ādil K., Maqṣūd 'Alī Aḥdī, Makḥṣūs K., Khwāja Muḥammad Moman, 'Aṣaf K., Mūsā M. Khān, Darvesh Miskīn, Bābū K., Jamman his son, Muṣāhib K., Shāh 'Alī Beg Turkamān, Shahbāz K., Shāh Mansūr, Bahādur K., Mīr Sālīḥ, Naqīb K., Nizāmu-d-dīn, Nizāmu-l-mulk, Dāūd Cakli, Bijlī K., Qiyā Beg, Qiyā K. Similarly, he gave great names to people of the bazaar.

*Verse.*

Fortune cannot be wrested from the holder thereof,  
Diadem and throne cannot be sold.  
The crow<sup>2</sup> tried for the gait of the partridge.  
He ended in forgetting his own.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 396.

<sup>2</sup> This is a well-known story. See Anwārī Suhailī.



In ignorance of the world's lord's knowledge of mysteries, he thought that "as the roads were closed, news would not quickly come to him, and if it came, would not be credited. If it were believed, the army could not march quickly in such torrents of rain. In winter it would be very difficult to come to this cold country. When a year had passed, his (Yādgār's) strength would be increased by a choice equipment. For a long time a ruler of Kashmīr had not had such a workshop." He did not know of the knowledge of mysteries possessed by the world's lord. From the time that the Age smiled upon him with a sardonic smile, he continually had drinking-bouts with persons of no consequence. They encouraged him and talked foolishly, and suggested to him to squander the accumulations and to make capital out of the honour of the Mīrzā, and he from love<sup>1</sup> of money and from his connection by marriage (with the Kashmīrīs) was led into stratagems. When he heard that the Mīrzā had been put in prison, he was compelled to let his family go. When their coming had not yet been heard of, H.M. from his knowledge of secrets sent Hājī Mīrak, who was an old servant of the Mīrzā, to bring these helpless people. Near Thāna the wicked men of the country were thinking of plundering them. Suddenly the messengers appeared. Their lives and property became safe, and all at once the news of the coming of the august standards filled the world. That wretch came a little to his senses and petitioned, saying that "Hus- 622  
ain Beg S. 'Umarī meant to bring the son of M. Shahrūkh from Badakhshān to Kashmīr, and make him an instrument of sedition. I contended with him, and he has by crafty words given me a bad name." By order, the writer of the noble volume replied to his false statements.

When his cajolery was not successful, he sent off Darvesh 'Alī with many troops to the defiles, and strove to strengthen them. Though the soldiers had not<sup>2</sup> arrived from all sides, S. Farīd Bakhshī

<sup>1</sup> Text has only *dosti*, but all the MSS. appear to have *zardosti* "love of gold." I suppose that the words *paiwand-i-khweshī* refer to Yādgār's having married a Kashmīrī. If *dosti* alone is correct, the meaning might

be that his poor companions prated to him of the affection that the people had for him.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *barasīd*, but the variant *narasīd* is supported by MSS. and seems more likely.



Begī and his companions made a fort at the foot of the pass,<sup>1</sup> and having left their baggage prepared for battle. On 26 Shahriyūr the vanguard proceeded to the defile in front, and the right and left wings made ready. Darvesh 'Alī had put up two walls on the top of the pass and intended to fight. He stationed men here and there, and indulged in arrogance. By the Divine aid the active men of the vanguard drove away the enemy after a slight resistance. The brave men of the left wing took possession of the ground<sup>2</sup> in front of them. A hot engagement took place, and many of the enemy were killed. Four of the victorious soldiers fell. The right wing took without a contest a fortification (*sarkob*) that the enemy had. As there was no road further on, they turned back and came behind the vanguard. Next day the enemy retired from the protection of the walls without fighting. The leaders of the soldiers were influenced by idle talk and thought there was a stratagem. The vanguard and the left wing pressed on, and took the Kapartal Pass and got possession of some quadrupeds. One man ignorantly killed a horse in the pass,<sup>3</sup> and much injury followed from a hailstorm. Next morning they traversed the Akrambāl pass and encamped. Their idea was that they would halt five *kos* from Hastī Watar. Those in front believing it to be deserted pressed on to take it. S. Farīd sent people to recall them. Able men knowing that it was in their power did not draw rein till the top of the pass. Those who were sent chose to join them. At nightfall it appeared that the enemy were in the waist of the hill, and prepared for battle. That night was spent in standing under arms and in watchfulness. When it was morning, parties of Kashmīrīs were seen on the hillocks and many were of opinion that they were coming to fight. In a short time it became certain that they were dispersing. At the close of the day the Shaikh arrived with some men. As the main army was

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Faizī S. that the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass is meant. The Iqbāl-nāma says Farīd Bakhshī Begī, who is now known as Martāza K.

<sup>2</sup> Text *Mahākama*. A note suggests that this here means ground. Perhaps it means position. *Mahā-*

*kama* originally means a tribunal. Faizī S. uses the word '*aqaba* summit.

<sup>3</sup> Text *īkh* ice, but probably *paj* is the true reading. As to the effect of shedding blood in the Pīr Panjal Pass, see Price's Jahāngīr 82.



behind, and the star<sup>1</sup> in front he delayed to advance. Meanwhile Muḥammad Kāshī surrendered himself and reported that Yādgār had thrown away endurance and had fled, and that all the men had gone off into retirement. Next morning 2 Mihr, 12 September 1592, they passed through the defile and reached Hīrapūr. Near there a body without a head was seen, and it was conjectured that the headstrong Kul had met with his deserts. In a short time **623** his head was brought in, and the thing became certain.

When that worthless one learnt that the defile had been taken, he left 'Ādil Begī with a force at Srīnagar, and came to Hīrapūr. Next day, he gave some presents to the men and moved forward. On the 31st Shahriyūr at midnight an army rushed forth crying "Allah Akbar," and a report was spread that H.M. had arrived. The whole camp was plundered, and that wretch was annihilated. Shahbāz K. Niyāzī, Ibrāhīm K. Kākar, Ibrāhīm K. Miyāna, Sārū Beg Shāmlū, Ḥusain Beg Maṣlū, Yār Beg Uzbek, Malik Muḥammad and some others of the servants of M. Yusuf K. made a plot, and were lying in wait. When half of the night had passed, they blew the trumpet of "Allah Akbar," and proceeded to pillage. The wretch came out from his enclosure (*saraparda*) and fled into the open. No servant was with him except one Yūsuf. When he had gone some way, he took shelter in some brushwood<sup>2</sup> (*bota*); and sent back his companion to fetch a horse. Some well-wishers of eternal dominion did not turn to plundering, but searched for Yādgār, and were astonished at not finding him. Suddenly, Sārū Beg saw Yūsuf, and put him to torture. He was helpless and told what had happened; and at his guidance Yādgār was found. He had recourse to humility. Shahbāz K. came up and relieved his shoulders of the burden of his head.

*Verse.*

In the garden the pumpkin raised its head beside the cypress.  
 Forsooth, to raise the head is to make oneself equal!  
 Heaven knows between the cypress and the pumpkin  
 Which of them is worthy of honour.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently, the unlucky star or constellation mentioned in Bābur's Memoirs.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says "behind a stone."



On 6 Mihr Mathrā<sup>1</sup> Dās brought the head of the brainless one to court, and there was worship of God. The world's lord's knowledge of mysteries was impressed on all; and a world had collyrium applied to its eyes. On the day that he heard of the disturbance of this wretch, this verse came upon his lips.

*Verse.*

The bastard<sup>2</sup> is envious; I'm what my horoscope is.  
The bastard-slayer has come like the star of Yemen.

The mother of this man of disturbed brain was the daughter of Nuqra (or perhaps, was called *dukht-i-Nuqra*) and had no equal among prostitutes (*lūlīyān*) for immodesty and wickedness. H.M. said, "It has been indicated to me that the destruction of this wretch, and the rising of Canopus, will take place at about the same time. By his order, the Greek, Persian, Kashmīri, and Indian astronomers examined the skies and reported that Yādgār would meet with his punishment in from two to three months. He said, "Something tells me that the time will not be less than forty days or more than two months." On this day it appeared that the whole time of the rebellion was fifty-one days. On the same day that Canopus appeared, this evil star (Yādgār) set. The secret vision of the world's lord was anew impressed on high and low. A wonderful thing was that about the same time a shoulder-bone was produced before H.M. and that on reading it he said that the disturbance would soon subside, and

<sup>1</sup> Faizi S. says Farīd Bakhshī's party saw the body of Yādgār hanging on a tree.

<sup>2</sup> Waladu-z-zina, which means both a bastard and a glowworm. Canopus is called the glowworm-slayer, presumably because he rises in the cold weather; and he is also called the star of Yemen. There is a play on the double meaning of Waladu-z-zina, Akbar saying that he the bastard-slayer comes as if he were (viz. at the same time as) Canopus. A. F. says immediately after this that Yādgār's mother was the daughter of one

Nuqra. The Iqbāl-nāma says that Nuqra was a woman's name, or perhaps the meaning is, her name was *Dukht-i-Nuqra* "Nuqra's daughter." *Nuqra* means silvery or white, thus a white horse is called *asp-i-nuqra*. The word also might possibly mean a silversmith. Akbar may be referring to the fact that he was born about the time of the rising of Canopus, meaning the cold weather, viz. October. The verse is also given in the Inshā, in Akbar's letter to his son Murād.



that no one except the rebel himself would be hurt. The saying became fact, and able men were astonished at his knowledge.

In this glorious year there were great victories on four sides. These were the submission of the ruler of Tattah, and the delivery of Sewīstan, the conquest of Orissa, and the submission of the rebels of the eastern provinces, the taking of Junagarh and Somnāth, the capture of Mozaffar, the punishment of Yādgār Kul, and the prevailing over Kashmīr. When the disturbance was suppressed, H.M. went<sup>1</sup> on the 13th to perambulate that garden, and he said with his truth-uttering tongue, "On my first visit, I saw the bridal chamber of spring, now I behold the coquetry of autumn, on that day. Beauty's veil was withdrawn, to-day the attributes of Power (*jalāl*) are seen." The Harem and the great camp were left under the charge of Prince Sulṭān Daniel that they might stay at Rohtās till his return. As Sulṭān Khusrū was somewhat ill, he was committed to the care of God, and H.M. made up his mind to part from him. His wish was to take some ladies with him but the difficulty of the road and the severe cold prevented this in some measure. Prince Sulṭān Selīm was sent to make close inquiries, and that day the hill of Bhimbhar was traversed, and an encampment made. In the morning on account of a disagreeable wind the camp was not moved. H.M. said, "Apparently snow is falling to-day in Kabul." When the year and month were noted, H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries was revealed, and there was an increase of the collyrium of the eyes. Next day the tents were set up at Naushahra. On this day the prince returned. He went into Kashmīr by the route of Hastī Watar and returned by Pīr Panjāl. He represented the difficulty of the road, and the amount of snow, and the idea of conveying the ladies was abandoned. As the route by Pīr Panjāl was reported to be somewhat easier, H.M. resolved to go by that route. On the day that Pūshāna was reached, H.M.'s horse slipped and that skilful rider came to the ground in an agile manner. Next day he passed through the Pīr Panjāl defile, and pitched his camp near Nārī Barārī. On that day too there was a similar slipping, and the Divine protection was revealed. On the<sup>2</sup> 23rd, when the hour was favourable—Srīna-

<sup>1</sup> That is, he set out on his march to Kashmīr.

<sup>2</sup> Faizī S. says Srīnagar was entered by Farīd on 21 Zi-l-hajja,



gar the capital was brightened by his advent. On the way the soldiers who had gone on in advance paid their homage. In accordance with orders, thirty-four persons entered into the trunk of a *cenār* tree which had been hollow for ages. If they had sate closer some more might have been accommodated.<sup>1</sup> Although the root of rebellion had been dug up, yet, owing to a report that H.M. had ordered the punishment of high and low, people had scattered, and there was no population in any of the villages. Though those who had gone on in front had used soothing measures, they were not  
**625** believed. When H.M.'s intentions were known, and his great benevolence had been impressed on hearts, people came back to the city, and rejoiced on beholding forgiveness and liberality. Able and truthful men were sent out in every direction, and they regarded the apprehension of rebels as the price (*pāiranj*) of obedience. Some who had been the leaven of the disturbance met with their deserts, except 'Ādil Begī, who hastened to the Deccan in the dress of a Qalandar. Those who from farsightedness had kept themselves aloof (from the rebellion) obtained high dignities. The world's commander offered up supplications, and thanksgivings had a new foundation. Though on the first occasion he had had the pleasure of water-fowling, yet as it was not the season, he did not care for it. This time he enjoyed it in perfection. On the 2nd Ābān he had a great feast, and the solar weighment took place. He who was of equal value with the heavens, was weighed against twelve things, and high and low shared his bounty. He appointed several persons to distribute money. The writer distributed presents to 14,000 necessitous people in the 'Idgāh. In this cultivated country thieves and beggars were few in number. At this time owing to an evil mixture there was loss, and many failed in patience and contentment.

One of the occurrences was the success of Zain K., Koka. Though a commotion had not broken out there, H.M. had from foresight appointed him to Swād and Bajaur. During the Kashmīr disturbance the evil-minded Afghans broke out into rebellion. As there

18 September 1592. Akbar entered it, he says, on 9 Muḥarram 1001, 7 October, 1592.

<sup>1</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says that the

tree had exceeded the age of crows, that 34 men found room in it, and that 200 horsemen could be sheltered under it.



were no chosen troops there, the Gagiyanī<sup>1</sup> tribe and the Muḥammadzaī tribe, who had always been loyal, joined with the Tārīkīs and Yūsufzais, and proceeded to hunt for the life of Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān, who was in Begrām, in order that they might get possession of the whole of that country. Suddenly, the Kokaltāsh arrived, and the rebels of every tribe withdrew. The Yūsufzai and some Tārīkīs came to the hill-country of Bajaur under the command of Waḥīdat 'Alī. Jalāla put his family with him and went off to Tīrāh. The idea was that Waḥīdat 'Alī would take possession of the land of the Kāfirs—which is close to Kāshghar<sup>2</sup>—and prepare a refuge there, and whenever there was pressure on the part of the victorious he would go there. On 7 Amardād the Koka came from the defile of Malkand to Swād, and easily took the futile but difficult-of-conquest country. He came by the way of Mardān to Bajaur. The rebels had not the strength to resist, and were obliged to hurry to the land of the Kāfirs. In a short time the hill country of Hardil<sup>3</sup> (?) was taken from that tribe. It is bounded on the east by Sawād, west by Kunār and Nūrkal, north by Kāshghar and Badakhshān, and south by Bajaur. They strengthened the fort of Cankārī<sup>4</sup> (?) and behaved presumptuously. The Koka set himself to put them down, and went there with brave and experienced men. He built forts at 626 each stage and traversed the mountains. Whenever the enemy tried a night-attack, they failed. The Koka invested the fort. On 1st Abān he took it after a severe battle, and the power of the rebels was broken.

On the 9th H.M. went off by boat to visit the saffron<sup>5</sup>-grounds. He arrived there next morning and enjoyed himself. Travellers cannot point out rose-gardens which come up to them in delight and fragrance. Though they (the flowers) resemble the lotus, yet their

<sup>1</sup> Text Kakeyāni. See J. II. 407.

<sup>2</sup> This is Kāshkar or Citral and not Kashghar in E. Turkestan. See J. II. 39142 and Elphinstone's Cabul II. 388. It is marked on Elphinstone's map as a large country east of Chitral.

<sup>3</sup> There is the variant Parūl. I cannot identify the place.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant Jankārī. Chalmers has Bunkāry. The M'aasār II. 368 speaks of a fort Kanshāl (?).

<sup>5</sup> Apparently those at Pāmpūr. Cf. Jahāngīr's account, Elliot VI. 304 and 375, and also B. 84.



enchantment and joy-giving cannot be described. A banquet of delight was prepared, and a new door was opened for the Divine bounty. Also at this time Mulla<sup>1</sup> Husain the Turān ambassador died. He had been left behind at Lahore in order that he might prepare for his return, and he was to have got his leave when H.M. came back. Indigestion conduced to his last day. By H.M.'s orders his family and household were sent to their native country. Also at this time Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn arrived and paid his respects. He was summoned from Lahore in order that Kashmīr might be made crown-land (*Khālṣa*) for a time, and that by his sympathetic treatment it might be developed. On the 12th the Dīwālī<sup>2</sup> feast was celebrated, and by orders, the boats, the river banks and the roofs were adorned with lamps. They presented a splendid appearance. Also on this day the daughter of Shams Cak entered the harem. He belonged to the great men of the country, and had long cherished this wish. On this occasion it was gratified. Also in order to pacify the landowners the daughter<sup>3</sup> of Mubārak Khan the son of Husain Cak was made over to the harem of Prince Sultān Selīm. Similarly, some of the countries were united by marriage (with Kashmīrīs). In this year M. Qubād<sup>4</sup> the oldest son of M. Hakīm received some punishment. He was sent to the place of instruction of the prison. He had ignorantly given himself up to wine-drinking. His punishment led to the amendment of many. At this time a kind of ink was introduced to H.M.'s notice. Whatever was written with it was not obliterated by water or by rubbing, nor did any harm happen to the writing. H.M. examined it and taught the use of it to skilful persons.

<sup>1</sup> His death is referred to in the letter to 'Abdulla, *infra* p. 710.

<sup>2</sup> B. 216. It is celebrated on the new moon of Kārtik (October).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently it should be "the

daughters of Mubārak K., and Husain Cak. See B. 619. A. F. tells us, J. III. 449, that he had a Kashmīrī wife.

<sup>4</sup> Generally called Kaiqubād.



## CHAPTER CXIV.

## RETURN OF THE WORLD-ILLUMINATING STANDARDS TO INDIA.

On account of the delightful climate and of its adaptation to H.M., his idea had been to spend the winter in Kashmīr, but from consideration of the fact that the high price of food incommoded high and low, and of the severe cold making life difficult for the inhabitants of hot countries, he resolved to leave the country. He **627** wished to make over the territory to M. Yūsuf K., but the latter again was eloquent about the question of the revenue. By the wonders of fortune the (papers of the) assessment which Qāzī<sup>1</sup> 'Alī had made, was found, and the representations of the Mīrza's confidant were proved. The Mīrza felt ashamed for not having accepted (the increased revenue). H.M. in accordance with his first idea made Kashmīr crown-land (*khālṣa*) and entrusted it to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, and assigned him 3,000 cavalry. When the holy heart turned away from the country, he on 20<sup>2</sup> Ābān, 31 October 1592, embarked on a boat, and went off to India. The army went by land. On that day he halted at Andarkūl. There was the dwelling of M. Haidar

<sup>1</sup> Qāzī 'Alī's assessment is referred to in the Ayīn, J. II. 366-67. It amounted to 30 lakhs odd. This was an increase on the original assessment, which was 22 lakhs, and apparently supported the statements of Ṭuṭa (A.N. III. 595). M. Yūsuf declined to accept it, and the territory became crown-land. But almost immediately afterwards (p. 627) M. Yūsuf was restored at the request of Prince Selīm, and the revenue was not raised, but certain sources of income were reserved. A year or two afterwards (in the 39th year) Yūsuf was again recalled and made

darogha of the artillery, and fiefholder of Jaunpūr, and Āṣaf K. was appointed (p. 654). Āṣaf made a fresh assessment, raising the revenue somewhat in appearance, but in reality, lowering it (J. II. 367). Qāzī 'Alī had made himself very objectionable to the Kashmīrīs, for they mutilated and killed him. (Bada-yūnī, Lowe, 394.)

<sup>2</sup> The T. A. Elliot and V. 464. Akbar entered Pīrnagar on 8 Maḥarram 1001 and stayed 28 (not eight) days there and left 26 Ṣafr, = 2 November 1592. Faizi S. has 7 Safr.



there, which was a grand building and a memorial of him. At the request of Prince Sultān Selīm, Kashmīr was given in fief to M. Yūsuf K., and he was sent off there. The *jāgīr* in India<sup>1</sup> (of M. Yūsuf?), the saffron, the silk and the game, were made *khālṣa*. Other increases were remitted. On 23 Ābān he came to the Wular<sup>2</sup> lake. He obtained information about the marvels of that tract. It is an extensive reservoīr. Its circumference is twenty *kos*, and the river Bihat flows through it, and hastens on to India. Sultān Zainu-d-dīn erected,<sup>3</sup> after great difficulty, a stone platform (*ṣaffa*) in it, 119 yards long, and 82 broad. Upon that he built choice mansions as a memorial of himself. Afterwards other rulers erected buildings there. A high wind always blows there, and boats encounter storms. On this occasion H.M.'s advent made the water calm. High and low were delighted. At dawn the tents were pitched at Bārahmūla. Though for two months no day had passed on which some soldiers did not get furlough to India, there was still a large army. H.M. chose out of the seven sets of guards some men as his companions, and appointed active and energetic men to the remainder in order that each party after the other might, after a suitable interval, march off. On 3 Āzar, 13 November 1592, while the camp was at Paklī, it rained (snowed?) the whole night, and snow gathered round the camp. The advance-tents could not proceed. H.M. went off on horseback to select a suitable camping ground. As a fitting place was not found, he left the household behind and went on quickly with some companions. In the course of the journey it came on to rain and snow. He halted in the village of Mānglī<sup>4</sup> (?) which is a dependency of Paklī. For a long while it snowed heavily, and high and low were astonished. One month before this, when it was very cold, and the Indians were apprehensive of its snowing, H.M. said, "I hope<sup>5</sup> that when we pass Paklī, and get sight of India, the fall

<sup>1</sup> Apparently M. Yūsuf's jagīr in Bihar. See p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Text Īsar, but Ular or Wular in variant. See J. II. 364 where the circumference is given as 28 *kos*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the island of Lanka, for an account of which see J. II 346 and Colonel Jarrett's note in J.A.S.B.

for 1880, p. 16, and T.A. Elliot V. 465.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Manglor which Hwen Thsang calls Mangala and was the capital of Swād. See J. II. 391 and note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Elliot V. 465.



of snow will afford delight, and that the inhabitants of warm countries will not be disconcerted, but will enjoy the spectacle." His prescience was manifested, and the lamp of guidance was kindled. In the morning the wind rose. He went forward, and on that day he halted for a while at Damtour at the request of M. Shahrukh's<sup>1</sup> son whose home was there. On the 7th he hastened on so rapidly **628** that he passed Rāwal Pindī, Rabāt,<sup>2</sup> Nagarkot, Thāna and Serai Carwa (?). He traversed a difficult hill and near Serai Har (?) rested for a while on the top of a hillock. On the way Ṣādiq K. was exalted by doing homage. At the beginning of the expedition he had fallen ill, and had been sent back to Lahore. When he got better he proceeded towards Kashmīr. Unexpectedly he had this blessing (of meeting Akbar). His son Yār,<sup>3</sup> and Rām Sāh, had the honour of kissing the threshold. He had obtained leave in order that he might tame Rajah Madhkar and this proprietor (Rām Sāh ?) and convoy them to Mālwa to the Prince (Murād), and might free those frightened savages from their consternation. The land-owners got new life from these royal favours and came forward with supplications. The Rajah, though he was ill, intended to come also, but died of his illness. He (Ṣādiq) brought his son Rām Sāh to Ujjain, and from thence to court. He was received with favour. As the camp of Ṣādiq K. was set up, he expressed a wish that the sovereign would spend the night there. When evening came, H.M. sent him away in order that he might come slowly after him, and himself set off. The Prince Royal and other servants begged that he would take some repose in a litter. He did not agree. In a night and a day he travelled 22 *kos*. On the 8th he unexpectedly cast the shadow of his graciousness over Rohtās—where the ladies were. Crowds of men, who were going to Kashmīr (?), had the pleasure of doing homage. Prince Daniel and Sultān Khusrū illuminated their foreheads by paying their respects near the city (Rohtās).

<sup>1</sup> M. Shahrukh of Dhamtaur. His son was Bahādur, B. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Serai Rabāt is marked on Elphinstone's map S.E. Rāwal Pindī. The name Nagarkot is doubtful. The I.O. MSS. have Bīkakot, and for

Serai Har they have "in the morning" as in the variant.

<sup>3</sup> Text has Bāz. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391 and B. 499. I.O. MSS. have Yār.



## CHAPTER CXV.

## CAPTURE OF SULTĀN MOẒAFFAR GUJRĀTĪ AND THE END OF HIS LIFE.

When Jūnagarh was taken, and the landed proprietors had become obedient and had made their submission, the Kokaltāsh made courage shoulder to shoulder with skill. He applied all his energies to the capture of Moẓaffar, who was the thornbush of the sedition. That evil-thinking man had given himself up to failure and had taken refuge with Sīvābād<sup>1</sup> Hail who was the ruler of the country of Hālār. The temple of Dwārka belongs to him. The Kokaltāsh sent to that quarter Naurang K., Gūjar K., Anwār,<sup>2</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad, Bābā Khwāja, Qādir Qulī Koka, the Saiyids of Cambay, M. Qulī Mogal and other soldiers. On 16 Mihr they left the camp 25 *kos* from the enemy and arrived in morning (*cāsh*) at Dwārka, and took it without a contest. There it was learned that Moẓaffar was in Basīna<sup>4</sup> (?) the residence of Sīvā (?), and that in the town of Arāmrāh,<sup>5</sup> Sangrām, a relation of that landholder, was behaving arrogantly. Qādir Qulī and some others were left at Dwārka, and then

**629** two bands were made out. Naurang K. with a large force proceeded to chastise Moẓaffar. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Bābā Khwāja, and a number of gallant men also went off in that direction. At the end of the day they arrived at his residence, and a severe engagement took place. A little before this, the report of the approach of the victorious troops had made the landholder demented, and he sent off

<sup>1</sup> Text سیوآباد هیل. But evidently the text is corrupt. Perhaps the meaning is that the chief belonged to the Sesodia clan. The text goes on to describe him as the chief of Lār. I.O. MS. 236 has Hālār, and perhaps Hālaria, I.G. XIII. 9, is meant. Or it may be Hālār, *id.*

<sup>2</sup> M. Koka's son.

<sup>3</sup> This is Nizāmu-d-dīn the son of Shāh Muḥammad, B. 561, and not the author.

<sup>4</sup> I do not know where this place is.

<sup>5</sup> Amra. The place is variously spelt. See J. II. 248. It was ten *kos* from Jagat, *i.e.* Dwārka, and on the seashore. Bayley 196.



Mozaffar and his household by boat to an island<sup>1</sup> which he had fortified. He himself went after them. The imperialists followed him, and he, from being doomed, turned and fought with them. On account of the heights and hollows, the brave men got off their horses and engaged. Naurang K. beheld this from a ridge. A force, thinking that he had few men, attacked him, but by the Divine help they had to retire with disgrace. There was close fighting up to evening. During the struggle an arrow reached the turbulent one (Sīva?), and he went to annihilation. The rebels were dispersed, and many were killed. Those also who had gone to punish Sangrām were successful. By the Divine succour the breeze of victory played on the pennants of fortune, and in both places much plunder was obtained. Some said that Mozaffar had been drowned. He could not remain where he was, but fled to Cutch. Bihāra Jāreja the ruler of that country placed him in retirement. On 26 Ābān the Khān A'zim went there from Jūnagarh, sending on ahead his son 'Abdullah with some brave men. Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq M'amūrī, who had been appointed Bakhshī of that country, arrived on this day. On 9 Āzar he arrived, after traversing 55 *kos* in ten marches, at the village of Amrān,<sup>2</sup> which is the burial-place of Dāwar-al-Mulk. The Jām came with his sons and other relatives and renewed his promises of good service. The ruler of Cutch sent able men and had recourse to cajolery. He spoke about obeying orders and sent his son to do service. His pretences did not lull asleep the Kokaltāsh, and he replied that if he wished to be delivered from the victorious troops, he should deliver up Mozaffar, and come in person. At this time, Lokan Kohal (?) went off with evil thoughts and without leave to his house, and the soldiers in Jūnagarh plundered his house and household. His three sons were killed. The Khān A'zam sent his son Khurram to that quarter with some brave men. He himself left

<sup>1</sup> No doubt this is Sankūdhar, J. II. 248. It is now called Beyt Shan-khodhar. It is in the Gulf of Cutch and N.E. Dwārka. It was near Arāmrāh. See I. G. VIII. 17 and Bayley 195 and note. It is a sacred island. Beyt apparently means "island" in Gujarātī.

<sup>2</sup> The Amrūn of Bayley, 232, where it is said to be ten *kos* from Morbī. It is the burial-place of Dāwar-ul-Mulk, whose proper name was 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf and who was regarded as a saint. The M. Sikandarī, p. 127, calls the place Anbarūn and says it is in Cutch (not Sorath).



Morbī, and having marched 31 *kos* in five stages arrived at the village of Cārbāra.<sup>1</sup> As the words of that proprietor<sup>2</sup> in those two matters did not produce action, he (M. Koka) wished to make over his estates to the Jām. He left his pretences and sent a message to the effect that if the town of Morbī—which had belonged to his ancestors for a long time—were given to him as a reward, he would deliver up Moẓaffar. His proposals were accepted, and some persons were sent ahead of the army. On 13 Dai, 23 December 1592, they arrived there. The proprietor's agents represented to the turbulent

**630** one (Moẓaffar) that Bihāra was coming to wait upon (*dīdan*) him. He was pleased<sup>3</sup> and came out with alacrity. When he came near, they arrested him and brought him back. That night passed on the journey. Next morning, he retired<sup>3</sup> on pretence of easing himself, and put a razor—which he had kept hidden—to his throat. Thus by his own hand he gave the final touch to his retribution. Apparently this was well, for the Khān A'ẓam would not have put him to death

<sup>1</sup> Variant Jāobāra, and this is supported by I.O. MSS. and Add. 27, 247.

<sup>2</sup> This is the ruler of Cutch whose residence was at Bhūj, I.G. VIII. 151. A.F. calls him Bihāra and the T. A. Elliot V. 466 calls him Khengār. These statements are reconciled by Bayley, p. 17, where we find the Zamindār of Bhūj called Bihāra Khengār. The Jām whom M. Koka threatened to give Bihāra's property to was the Jām of Nawānagar. The two matters, or conditions, which Bihāra was to fulfil were evidently, 1st, the surrender of Moẓaffar; 2nd, Bihāra's coming on in person to visit the K. K. The text makes them alternative, but *yā* seems a mistake for *bā*. The Zamindar Bihāra who delivered up Moẓaffar appeared before Jahan-gir in the 13th year of the reign of the latter. He was then an old man of about 90 years of age. Tūzuk J., 234.

<sup>3</sup> The text seems corrupt here, and the word *bapazīra* is not very intelligible. Add. 27,247 has a different reading, p. 416b. After giving the message that Bihāra had come to wait upon Moẓaffar, who, of course, was regarded as a prince, and of higher rank, it has *khūsh waqt gashta, banda barah barāmid*. This seems to be part of Bihāra's message, and to mean, "It is a fortunate time and so your slave (Bihāra) has come on the road to wait upon you."

The Iqbāl-nāma and the Mirāt Aḥ-madī say that Moẓaffar sate down at the foot of a tree to wash, and that he had the razor concealed in his drawers (*shalwār*). The Mirāt Sikandarī and Aḥmadi, pp. 387 and 190, say the occurrence took place at the village of Dhamon or Dahar, 15 *kos* "on this side," i.e. east of Bhūj. Ferishta adds that Moẓaffar always kept the razor with him against this day.



without orders, and if they had brought him into the Presence, H.M.'s abundant graciousness would not have hunted for his life. In revenge for Qutbu-d-dīn K., his head was severed from his body and hung<sup>1</sup> up at the door of Naurang K., and afterwards Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad<sup>2</sup> brought it to court. Two days previous to this H.M. had said, "Inasmuch as the help of God towards this suppliant increases daily, every one who turns away his head from obedience descends into non-existence. The ingratitude of Mozaffar has gone far. Something tells my heart that about this time he will be killed." On beholding this intelligence, eyesalve became cheap and a door of auspiciousness was opened out for many.

<sup>1</sup> *Bar dar*, "at the door," but perhaps *bar* here means body. If the head was taken off to Akbar, it could hardly have been hung at Naurang's

door or gate, except for a short time.

<sup>2</sup> The son of Shāh Moḥammad K. (*Iqbāl-nāma*).



## CHAPTER CXVI.

## RETURN OF THE AUGUST STANDARDS TO LAHORE THE CAPITAL.

Thanks be to God that the veil was once more withdrawn from the world-ruler's knowledge of mysteries and that high and low obtained materials of guidance. During his return, his idea had been that he would locate the army for a time on the bank of the Indus, and enjoy some hunting. The soldiers would recruit and the rebels would be reduced to obedience. For this reason Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī was sent off to prepare the camping ground at Attock. H.M. halted in Rohtās and questions<sup>1</sup> were put to Zain K. Kokaltāsh and other officers who had been appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs. As it did not appear proper to proceed in that direction, he on 2nd Dāi<sup>2</sup> went on towards Lahore. After sixteen marches he arrived in that city on the 19th Dai, 29 December 1592. Crowds of men obtained the material of fortune, and largesse was the order of the day (lit. there was a daily market of largesse). From Srīnagar to Rohtās is 112 kos, 30 poles, and the distance was traversed in eighteen marches. To Lahore (from Rohtās) the distance is 162½ kos, 16 poles, and it was traversed in thirty-four marches. An account of the Divine favours which were bestowed during this expedition has been given. A world sate gathering bliss, and the Age rose up to the fruition of its desires. At this time Balbhadahar the son of Rām Cand the ruler of Bhat'h<sup>3</sup> obtained lofty rank. His father had left him to wait upon H.M. At this

<sup>1</sup> A. F.'s letter to Zain K. Koka inquiring about the expedition against the Tārīkīs, and suggesting that the business was too unimportant to require Akbar's presence at Attock, will be found in the second volume of the Inshā. It is dated 9 Āzar (the day after the arrival at Rohtās) of the 37th year = 28 Šafr 1001, 23 November 1592.

<sup>2</sup> The text and also the I.O. MSS. have Āzar, but clearly Dai must be meant.

<sup>3</sup> Text Tattah! It is Bhet'h or Bhattah, and also Pannah, and is in Central India. See B. 8406, where the son is called Bīr Bhadr. He died of an accident in the following year. See below p. 641. The Iqbāl-nāma also calls him Bīr Bhadr.



time news came that the father had died on 27 Shahrīyūr. On 27 Dai H.M. appointed him to the same dignity of Rajaship. He conferred favours on him and sent him off to that country. On this **631** day Khwāja Sulaimān, the Bakhshī of Gujarat, had an audience and the presents of the Mīrzā were produced. On the 29th H.M., contrary to his morning custom, came into the daulatkhāna. After seeing<sup>1</sup> that everything was as usual he went to the gynocaeum. The pigeon house, in the shed of which many animals were reposing, fell down, and the cause of his unusual coming out became evident. On 2 Bahmān news came that Ghāzī K. Qazwīnī had died in Bengal of diarrhoea. On the 4th a female elephant which did not use to hurt a tiny ant broke out and killed her keeper and fourteen others.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to the northern mountains. As the proprietors there showed themselves refractory and did not accompany<sup>2</sup> the expedition to Kashmīr, H.M., on the 16th, at the request of Qulīj K., sent his son Saif Ullah there, and gave him Qāzī Hasan as a companion. Though some proprietors came forward and paid their respects, Lāl Deo the ruler of Jammū was recalcitrant. Zain K. gave him quarter and brought him to court, and the northern rising subsided. At this time the home of Rām Cand was plundered. He is one of the famous *zamīndars* of Orissa, and by the glory of H.M.'s star he became obedient, and sent his son to do service. Rajah Mān Singh summoned him and he objected. The Rajah from inappreciativeness consigned his goodnesses to oblivion and sent Jagat Singh, Mīr Sharīf Sarmadī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Abu-l-baqā, Maḥmūd Beg Shāmlū, Shihābu-d-dīn Diwāna and others to wage war on him. A commotion arose. Rām Cand entered the fort of Khurdah<sup>3</sup> which was the strongest of his fortresses. The imperialists took up their quarters close by, and proceeded to attack the country. The forts Sahajpāl (?) Khāragarh, Kālūpāra, Kahnān, Longarh, Bhūnmāl, and many populated places fell into possession. On hearing of this,

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is not in the Cawnpore ed. For Akbar's mode of spending his time see B. 153. Ordinarily he went first to the harem. The pigeon-house was in the inner apartments. See p. 646.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 619.

<sup>3</sup> Text has Chorgarha, but the variant Khurdah must be right. Several of the forts are mentioned in J. II. 142 *et seq.*, but the names in text do not appear.



H.M.—who appreciates dignities—became angry, and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops, and apologised. Rām Cand, on seeing the graciousness of H.M., took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Mān Singh), and was treated with much respect.

One of the occurrences was the going astray of the Afghans. When the rebels of Orissa submitted, the Rajah wisely gave Khwāja Sulaimān, Khwāja 'Uṣmān, Sher Kh. and Haibat Kh. fiefs in Khalī-fahābād, and selected Tāhir K. and Khwāja Bāqir Anṣārī to accompany them. From the shortsightedness and foolish talk of inexperienced persons he afterwards took away their *jāgīrs* and summoned them to his presence. Out of ignorance, the Afghans became frightened and made sedition-mongering the means of their deliverance. On the 27th Bāqir was near Kharakpūr<sup>1</sup> and was going with some elephants to his estates when that crew cast aside the veil of respect and opened the hand of plunder. He was wounded, and retired. Pahār K., Tolak K., Farakh K., and the men of S'aīd K. gathered together to remedy matters, but from want of courage did not address themselves to battle. The Rajah sent his son Himmat Singh with some troops. The Afghans went on plundering and came to the port of Satgāon.<sup>2</sup> But as they could not lay hands on it, they returned unsuccessful, and proceeded to the house<sup>3</sup> of Cānd Rai. The officers came from Jahānābād. Himmat Singh went

<sup>1</sup> Text Gorakhpūr. But the variant Kharakpūr is supported by MSS. and seems right. It was in Fathābad Sarkār, J. II. 132. I.O. MS. 236 and also another MS. have *pūr* "son," after Kharakpūr and before Bāqir, thus making it Bāqir's son who was attacked and wounded. Perhaps this is the Bāqir K. Safarcī who is mentioned at p. 649 as being attached to Jahangir's troops, and at p. 672 as having died in Bengal. He was, evidently, a different man from Bāqir Anṣārī. Bāqir, or Bāqī, was the son of Tāhir, who is perhaps the Tāhir of p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> Text Sangāon. But there is no such place and Sonargāon is impossible. No doubt it is Satgāon or Sāt-gāon near Hugli. See J. II. 125 and note, and 140. Jahānābād is in the Hugli district. The Iqbāl-nāma has Sāt-gāon.

<sup>3</sup> Four MSS. which I have examined have *ba Busna* before the word house. Probably this is right and the place meant is Bhūshna in the Farīdpūr district. It was a famous *pargana* in old times and the seat of a Hindu zamindar. The Cawnpore ed. has *بستا* Basta.



on a little way and then turned back. When the Afghans came near that place, Cānd Rai, at the suggestion of his father, conceived the idea of capturing them, and by his unskilfulness forfeited his own life. When Dilāwar, Sulaimān, and 'Uṣmān encamped within four *kos* of the place (Bhūshna), he adopted the manners of a host. On 1 Isfandārmaz the first two came to his house. When Dilāwar got up for a necessary <sup>1</sup> purpose they seized him. Sulaimān, seeing this, laid hold of his sword and scattered the men. He killed three men and got to the gate of the fort. He killed several and bravely made his exit. On the road some men joined him, and he got on his horse and went quickly to his quarters. Cānd Rai followed him, and 'Uṣmān, on hearing of the affair, came to help. On the way, Sulaimān told the tale of Dilawār's capture, his own escape, and of the coming of the foe. Of necessity they set their hearts upon dying, and there was a hot engagement. The servants of the proprietor who were mostly Afghans, turned traitors and joined their country men, and he (Cānd) was killed. They plundered, and then set off for the fort. Those inside thought it was Cānd Rai and opened the gate. In this way the Afghans prevailed. By the intrigues of 'Isā zamīndār they took shelter with him, and made over the fort and territory to Kedār Rai the father of Cānd Rai. At this time the fort of Mānpūr was taken. It lies between Orissa and Telingāna. An army marched against it and took it without much trouble. Rajah Mān Singh gave it to Rām Cand.

One of the occurrences was the marriage-feast of Prince Sul-tān Selīm. Just as for other people more than one wife is not suitable, so for great persons more are necessary, so that their dwellings may be more <sup>2</sup> splendid, and a large number of people may be supported. Especially is this so with nobly-born persons who are the ornament of the Age. At the beginning of this spring Gulrukh Begam, the daughter <sup>3</sup> of M. Kāmran, begged that her daughter might enter the harem of the Shāhinshāh's son. H.M. agreed and there was a banquet of joy. There was largesse and there were marriage presents. On the night of 7 Isfandārmaz H.M. had a meet-

<sup>1</sup> *ba kāre*, lit. for a business. Cf. Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the meaning is that there may be more progeny.

<sup>3</sup> Her name was Nurū-n-nisā. B. 477 n.



**633** ing in the house of Miriām Makānī, and the marriage was solemnized at an auspicious hour.

On the 23rd Pahār<sup>1</sup> K. died in Bardwān. His heirs were treated with princely favours.

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<sup>1</sup> B. 405.



## CHAPTER CXVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 38<sup>TH</sup> DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO  
WIT, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On the eve of Sunday 17 Jumāda-al-ākhirī, 1001 A.H., 10 or 11 March 1593, after 3 hours 55 minutes, the spiritual and physical light-increaser cast his rays on the Sign of Aries. Melancholy terrestrials had heavenly bliss, and had equal rank with the celestials.

*Verse.*

The hand of morn kindled the torch of the new spring.  
The branching<sup>1</sup> standards took to torch-bearing  
By the side of the wind, the black earth clothed itself in  
green.

Every flowerpot<sup>2</sup> drank milk from the breast of the clouds.

There was a daily feast till the day of Exaltation, and high and low rejoiced.

On 8 Farwardīn the Khān-Khānān came from Sind and was exalted by doing homage. M. Jānī gathered bliss by having an audience, and placed the forehead of supplication on the ground, while the crown of his fortune was exalted to the skies. After the peace, the victorious army took up its quarters in Sann, 20 *kos* from Sehwān. When the rains came to an end they were in expectation of the arrival of the Mīrzā and of his departing to court. Suddenly a message arrived that as he was a little indisposed, and there was a long journey in prospect, he would go to court after collecting the autumn-revenue; also that the agreement was that this side of Sehwān would be restored to him; but Puran (?) and Hālākandī had not been given up. The imperial servants took the envoy under their

<sup>1</sup> Meaning that every branch bore flowers.

<sup>2</sup> Khazaf. The MSS. seem to have khazaf meaning an old, weak

man; and the metaphor may be that they grew young, i.e. became sucklings. But khazaf seems right.



supervision and proceeded to take active measures. Shāh Beg K., Ghāzī K., Jānish Bahādur, Nūram Khwāja Khizrī, and other brave men crossed the Indus and proceeded by land towards Tatta. Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Muhammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, ‘Alī Mardān Bahādur, Khwāja Hisāmu-d-dīn, Sālār Beg, Sarmadī, Mubāriz Beg, Subhān Qulī, Tāj K., Nūru-d-dīn, S‘aīd Beg and others went in war-boats by the river. Sher K., Khūlgān, Langā, Dada Beg, ‘Alī Āqā and others went by the river bank. It was arranged that all three bodies should keep touch of one another, and that they should take possession of Naṣīrpūr which was on the

634 route. The idea was that the Mīrzā must go to court. After some days the Khān-Khānān sent an ambassador with weighty advices, and followed in person. The troops prevailed over Naṣīrpūr. The Mīrzā came out of Tatta and took post at a distance of three *kos*. His intention was to make his rear<sup>1</sup> safe up to the river (?). When the Khān-Khānān arrived at Naṣīrpūr he sent on the three corps with the same arrangements as before. They attacked the Mīrzā’s camp and plundered it, and some of the Arghūnians joined them. The Mīrzā had recourse to supplications, and he sent able men to inquire why the treaty was broken. The reply was, “We are not breaking the treaty, and we have no new ideas in our minds, but we have heard that the Feringhī soldiers of Ormuz intend to come to this country. Hence we intend to go on to Bandar Laharī.”<sup>2</sup> The plunder which had been taken was returned with apologies (?). The Khān-Khānān always had an eager desire for concord. On 10 Ābān of the previous year they met each other on horseback. Out of foresight the Khān-Khānān proceeded as far as Tatta. His ostensible motive was to see the place, but his real intent was to secure the lower part of the river, and to prevent any change in the feelings of the Arghūniāns. When he had gone some way in that direction, and his mind was set at rest, he returned. “As the bond of friendship had been established, it was fitting that the Mīrzā should deliver up his fleet so that no one could have occasion to make any remark,

<sup>1</sup> عَقَابَات *‘aqabāt*. I.O. MS. 236 has *qanāt*. The meaning seems to be that M. Jānī wished to keep open his communications with the river as there was a prospect of the Portu-

guese coming to help him. *‘Aqabāt* may mean “communications.”

<sup>2</sup> Lahorī Bandar in the Karāchī district, now quite decayed. I. G., XXII. 403, and Elliot I., App. 377.



and that foolish praters might be reduced to silence." The Mīrzā was thus constrained to give up the whole country to the victorious army. He prepared to go to court. After viewing Tatta, the Khān-Khānān went on to Bandar Laharī. He dispatched Shāh Beg K., Bakhtiyār Beg, Farīdūn Barlās and others to go forward with the Mīrzā. He left some in Tatta and returned by land. Near Fath Bāgh he arrived in person. On 29 Bahman he left Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn . . . . . to guard the country and went off to court with the Mīrzā. Though he (the Mīrzā) wished to leave his family in Tatta, he could not. His household went off by land and water, and he himself went on with the Khān-Khānān, and set his heart upon kissing the threshold. Shāh Beg K. . . . . . and, from among the nobles of Tatta, Shāh Qāsim Arghūn, Khusrū Bāi K., 'Il Dastam, Saifullah 'Arab, and Nadīm Koka had the honour of being presented, and every one of them recieved princely favours.

M. Jānī<sup>1</sup> is the son of Payinda Muḥammad, s. M. Bāqī, s. M. **635** 'Isā, s. 'Abdu-l-'Alī, s. 'Abdu-l-Khāliq, who was descended from Shakal<sup>2</sup> Beg Tarkhān. As his (Shakal's) father Atkū<sup>3</sup> Timur fell bravely in the war of Taqtamish K., the Ṣāhib Qirānī (Taimūr), cherished him in his early years, and gave him the rank of Tarkhān. He is four generations from Arghūn K. s. Abāgh<sup>4</sup> K., s. Hulāgū K., s. Tūlī K., s. Cingīz K. Just rulers exempted some among their servants from certain injunctions and prohibitions, and distinguished them by this name (Tarkhān). A Tarkhān of the Ṣāhibqirān was one whom his ushers (Chāwashān) did not keep out of any place, and from whom, and from whose children, no inquiry was made up to the number of nine faults. The great Qāan Cingīz K. exalted Qishlīq and Bānā<sup>5</sup> to this rank because they had given information

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. 361 and J. II. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Shankal in B. and I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Text, Īkū, and it is Ekū, in Elliot I. 497. B. has Atkū, and so have the I.O. MSS. It is Īkū in Zafrnāma I. 525 etc. The Zafrnāma seems to have Shāh Mulk instead of Shankal or Shakal, I. 530. These privileges of Tarkhāns are referred to on the same page.

<sup>4</sup> Ayāgh in text.

<sup>5</sup> Bātā in B. Neither of these two names, nor the reason why Cingīz bestowed the honour, is mentioned in the T. Rashīdī. The story is, however, told in Elliot I. 498, where the names of the two men are given as Bā'ta and Kashlak. It is there said that they heard of Āvang K.'s intending to kill Cingīz, and came



about the enemy, and, from his abundant graciousness, relieved them from the burden of attendance (*bār-i-farmāish*), and did not exact from them the royal share of the booty. For a while the Tarkhān had seven privileges, viz.—1st, A *Ṭabb* (kettle-drum). 2nd, A Tumantogh (standard). 3rd, A Naqqāra (also a drum). 4th, A Tarkhān could confer on two of his select servants a qushūntogh<sup>1</sup> (the standard of a squadron?). 5th, He also could carry a Chatrtogh. 6th, He had a qūr.

It is a Moghul regulation that no one except the sovereign can carry his quiver in his hand. His hunting-ground is also taboo (*qurq*). If any one enter it, he becomes a slave. He<sup>2</sup> is the head of his tribe. The Amīrs in the high-divan sit further off and on both sides of him, and are a bow's length away. When Amīr Būlāgī raised Tughlaq Taimūr (to the throne of the Khānate), there was conferred upon him the right of appointing and dismissing officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazārī*). It was also ordered that no inquiry should be held about (the offences of) his children up to nine generations. When the offences exceeded nine in number, an inquiry would be held. Then when retribution for this was to be inflicted, he was to be placed on a two-year old white horse, and a white cloth was to be put under the horse's feet. His representation was to be conveyed (to the Khān) by one of the chiefs of the Barlās tribe, and the answer by one of the chiefs of the Arkīwat tribe. Then his neck vein (*shāhrag*) was opened and the two Amīrs stood on each side and watched, until he died. Then they removed him from the presence and buried him with lamentation. Khizr Khwāja raised Amīr Khudādād to this rank, and he

and told him. Apparently, the story is contained in the Tarkhānnāma.

Haidar speaks, p. 55, of Cingīz's having conferred the seven privileges of a Tarkhān on Urtubu, who, we learn from p. 17, was grandfather of Amīr Būlāgī. At pp. 23 and 56, Haidar says he once saw the original *fīrmān* of Toghluq Timūr.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the meaning is that the Tarkhān could appoint two of his servants to commands. This was

afterwards made a general power to appoint officers up to the rank of 1000. The last of the seven privileges is obscure both in the T. Rashīdī and in the Akbarnāma. Abul Fazl seems only to mention six. Cf. Dr. Bellew's translation of the T. Rashīdī in his History of Kāshghar, p. 153 of the Yārkand Report, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> Text *leh wāh*. Is this a mistake for *khākān*?



added three other privileges. 1st, On feast-days, when all the grantees stood, and one *yasāwal* of the ruler was on horseback to keep order, the Tarkhān also had a horse. 2nd, As when in that feast of joy the cup of *qimōz* was held on the Khān's right hand, so also did a cupbearer hold one on the left hand for the Tarkhān. 3rd, His seal appeared on the face of the *firmāns*, but the seal of the king is put at the head of the last line, and that of the Tarkhān below that.

If all favours be in accordance with discretion they will agree with the performance of God's will. The provision about not inquiring until nine faults have been committed, of whatever nature they may be, does not appear to be consonant with propriety. If farseeing princes are engaged in testing men, and take care that no evil deed be committed by them, and if such orders have been issued for the exaltation of some persons, then it is something comprehensible. But as for that provision that no inquiry is to be made for nine generations, it would look as if the Almighty had given him (the Khān) the power of knowing the future! Whither have my words strayed! And whither have I gone in order to refresh my narrative?<sup>1</sup> 636

<sup>1</sup> A.F. has copied this account of the Tarkhān and his privileges from Haidar M. See the T. R. Ross and Elias, pp. 23 and 55. But the translation there given is not wholly correct, and the passage has to be explained by Mr. Blochmann's note, B. 364. Possibly too A. F. did not altogether understand his authority, and his copyists have certainly made mistakes. In one or two places I have ventured to differ from Mr. Blochmann, who apparently was not aware that the original passage was in the T. R. The words *tamantogh* and *catrtogh* are explained in B. 50. See also the note to the explanation of Plate 9, B. IX. Mr. Blochmann, translating A. F., says the amirs sate, arranged in the form of a bow. I have preferred Denison Ross's translation, which comes from

A. F.'s original, and makes them sit a bow's length away. There is an useful précis of A. F. in the Maasir III, pp. 302-4, in which the mistakes of some of the copyists are corrected. The mention of the Arkīwat tribe, and of "the two amirs" instead of "two amīrs," in the account of the Tarkhān's punishment, seems due to a corrupt text. I do not find the name of such a tribe, and there is no such name in the T. R. In a MS. of the T. R. in my possession, the words are *azkaşrat-ādab* "with great respect." Perhaps this has been read as Arkīwat. Denison-Ross has "from an elevation," the whole of the passage being as follows: "The accused should be set upon a white, two-year-old horse; under the hoofs of the horse, nine folds of white felt should be placed



## Verse.

What words do I utter, whither have they driven my conveyance?

Whether have we gone, and where has our steed halted?

M. 'Abdu-l-'Alī attained to high rank under Sultān Maḥmūd M. the son of Sultān Abu S'aīd M., and became ruler of Bokhāra. Shaibek K. Uzbek was in his service, but when he attained the Sultanate, he killed his master<sup>1</sup> and his five sons, and so gathered the materials of eternal ruin. M. 'Īsā was six months' old. The Arghūn clan being without a head, left Transoxiana and some came to Khurāsān. Mīr Zū-n-nūn Beg Arghūn became a great man under Sultān Ḥusain M. Qandahār, Sīstān and Zamīndāwar were given to him as his fiefs. When Badī'u-zamān M. had the wickedness to rebel against Sultān Ḥusain M. (his father), Mīr Zū-n-nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter. When Sultān Ḥusain M. died, his two sons Badīu'-z-Zamān and Mozaffar ascended the throne, and there ensued distractions in the country. Shaibeg came to fight, and Zū-n-nūn was killed in battle against him. His son Shāh Beg was kept in Qandahar under surveillance (by Shaibānī). Shāh Beg sent for Bābur from Kabul in order that he might enter into his service and proceed to Khurāsān, but when Bābur approached, he fought with him. A great battle took place, and Shāh Beg was defeated, and Qandahar and the collections of years were lost. Bābur left Nāṣir M. (in Qandahar) and returned to Kabul. At the

as a token of respect—and he should in that position address the Khān, while the Khān should speak to him from an elevation. When the interrogatory and investigation have been conducted in this fashion, if the offence should be a mortal one, and the other nine crimes should also be proved against him, two Amīrs should stand by and watch him while his veins were opened and all his blood drawn from his body." N.B.—The word for veins in the T.R. is shāhraghā, i.e. "principal veins";

in A. F. it is the singular, shāhrag. Perhaps A. F. has gone into such detail about the title of Tarkhan because Akbar nominally revived it and conferred it on Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn, the guardian of his father's tomb. See B. 542, Badayunī III. 198 and M'aasir I. 480.

<sup>1</sup> The master, or rather benefactor, whom he killed was Sultān Maḥmūd Khān son of Yūnus K. and not Sultān Maḥmūd M. the son of Abū S'aīd. A.F.'s elliptic mode of writing might lead one to suppose that the



instigation of Muqīm, Shāh<sup>1</sup> Beg's brother, Shaibānī (Uzbeg) came to Qandahar. Nāṣir carefully guarded it, and as there was a report of a disturbance in Khurāsan, Shaibānī made peace and returned. After some time Nāṣir left Qandahar without cause, and came to Kabul. Shāh Beg acted promptly and took Qandahar. When Shaibānī in battle with Ism'aīl Ṣafavī got his retribution for killing his master, Shāh Beg came to Herat at the summons of the Shāh (Ism'aīl), and was put into prison. Sanbal<sup>2</sup> by name, a slave, from goodness and faithfulness, made a plot with forty leaders of the Arghūns, and, going to Herat, set up as a shopkeeper. He set up a shop for a while. He made clever arrangements and by means of pretexts contrived to convey news to the prison, and he in a consummate manner revealed his secret plan. Shāh Beg got the help of the other prisoners, and that faithful one brought together strong horses and had them shod backwards. At night he drugged the food of the guards and brought Shāh Beg out of prison. He himself guided him to Qandahār. After some time Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) made an expedition against him. He did not think himself strong enough to resist and retired into the fort. After two years peace was made. He went towards Shāl<sup>3</sup> and lay in wait. From there he came to 637 Sehwān and took Sewistān from Jām Nandā<sup>4</sup> who was of the Jādūn tribe and known generally as Samma (?). During the time of his son Jām Fīrūz, Shāh Beg got possession of the whole of Sind. He also took Multan from the Langāhs. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Shāh Ḥusain. Jinnat Āshīyānī (Humāyūn) came to him at the time of his misfortune, but Shāh Ḥusain in his folly went to war with him. Some account of this has been given in the first

master he killed was either Abū S'aīd's son or Abdu-l-'alī, but both of them died a natural death. See T. R. 166. A. F. does not give Zū-alnūn's descent. It is stated in the Tarkhānnāma quoted in Elliot I. that he was the son of Amīr Basrī.

<sup>1</sup> The name is not in text, but occurs in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>2</sup> See the story in Erskine's Hist. of India, I. 345, and also in Malet, T. Sind, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Text *basūi Damsāl*, I.O. MS., 235, has "towards Shāl," and so has the Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>4</sup> Text has Jām Banda. See Elliot I. 233. Also for Samna, the text has *bahamma*. I.O. MS. 236 has Samma, and 235 has Samand. See Tārīkh Sind, Malet 55, and Jarrett II. 343, 346 and B. 362. See also Elliot I. App. 494. The Sammas became Muhammadans about the end of the 14th century.



volume (of the Akbarnāma). As <sup>1</sup> a retribution for his wickedness, he lost his intelligence, and could not distinguish a friend from an enemy. He took flattery and cajolery to be the tests of goodness. He constantly spent six months in ascending the river, and six months in going down stream. When he was going towards Bhakkar, Kastak, (?) , Mīr Shāham, and Kīrchak, who were noted men among the Arghūns, raised up M. 'Isā—whose ancestors had been the heads of the Arghūn clan—and seized Tughlaqābād <sup>3</sup> and Tatta. On hearing this, Shah Husain turned back without going to Bhakkar. With the help of Sultān Maḥmūd his foster-brother, who was governor of Bhakkar, he prepared for war, and encamped near Koh Haftdakhtar (the hill of the seven daughters), and with a stream in front of him. For six months, naval fights went on. By the evil machinations of Sultān Maḥmūd, a sort of peace was made. The country of Sind was divided into five portions, three being assigned to M. 'Isā and two to M. Shah Husain. Afterwards <sup>4</sup> that ingrate deprived his master of the wine he was accustomed to. He died in the same <sup>5</sup> year as that in which Humāyūn went to heaven, and the whole country came into the possession of M. 'Isā. When he died, his son M. Bāqī succeeded him. Madness overcame him, and he stuck a sword-hilt in a wall, and drove

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Malet 121.

<sup>2</sup> Variant Kabīk, and this agrees with Elliot I. 320, which has Mīr Kabaik. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has Kīstīk.

<sup>3</sup> A fort about two miles S. Tatta. Elliot I. App. 402. It is mentioned also in Elliot I. 272 and 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Sipas ān na sipās sarāb rā az khudawand khwesh ke bān-i-khūd dāshht bāzgirift.* This is an obscure sentence. The text has sirāb or sarāb, but all the MSS. seem to have sharāb. Instead of khūd dāshht I.O. MS. 236 has khū dāshht. No. 259 of Ethé has sharāb. We are told by M'aṣūm, Malet 124, that Shah Husain, after he was attacked by palsy, constantly drank wine, and remained in an intoxicated condition. Appar-

ently then, A. F. means that Sultān Maḥmūd caused Shah Husain's death by depriving him of wine, to which he was accustomed. Perhaps, however, the meaning is quite different, and is that Shāh Husain experienced the ingratitude which he had shown to Humāyūn. The T. Tāhirī has a great deal to say about Shah Husain's misconduct towards Humāyūn, and contrasts it with the kindness and loyalty shown by M. 'Isā to Humāyūn. The latter in consequence prophesied that M. 'Isā would get the kingdom.

<sup>5</sup> Humāyūn died in 963 (1556) and Shāh Husain in 962, or according to the Tarkhānnāma Elliot I. 323, on 12 Rabi'-al-awwal 961 = 15 February 1554.



the point into his belly. He died,<sup>1</sup> and the Arghūns assigned the name of royalty to his son M. Pāyinda, but as he was a recluse, and of an insane disposition, the administration was committed to his son M. Jānī Beg. In the previous year (1000 ? 1592) the recluse died. For the sake of refreshing my narrative, I have digressed somewhat. Now I return to my tale with the same straightforwardness as formerly. May this quality never fail!

On 15 Farwardīn Shāham K. Jalāir and Qāsim K. Tamkīn came from their fiefs and had the good fortune of an audience, and were exalted by princely favours. On the day of exaltation (*sharf*) the feast of the lunar weighment took place. That noble personality was weighed against eight articles, and many necessitous ones had their desires gratified. On this day, the territory of Tattah was given in fief to M. Shāhrukh. M. Jānī Beg was given a *manṣab* of 3000, and the province of Multan. All those who had served in Sind received 638 the reward of their service. Shāh Beg K. was made an officer of 2500 and Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn one of a 1000. Similarly, every one received in accordance with his merit. On this day, M. Qubād, who had learnt wisdom in the school of the prison, was released.

One of the occurrences was the departure of M. Koka for the Hijāz. For a long time fancies had taken possession of him. He thought that H.M. disliked him, and he regarded<sup>2</sup> marks of favour as censures. At the time when he showed good service, H.M. out of excessive affection summoned him to his presence. The old frenzy boiled over, and he sank into improper thoughts. He had not the courage to treat his imaginings as realities, and yet come to court, nor the discernment to rid himself of his wrong ideas. He dismissed Naurang K., Gūjar K., Khwāja Ashraf and many of the royal servants to their *jāgīrs*, and went off himself to Jūnagarh. But without going there, he proceeded to Dwārka, in order that he

<sup>1</sup> Malet 136 says, he committed suicide in 1571 (979). But apparently the true date is 993 (1585). See B. 362 and the MS. T. M'asūmī.

<sup>2</sup> Probably this refers to his appointment to Aḥmadābād, which according to Khāfī K. was procured by the brothers Faizī and A. F. in

order to get him away from Akbar. See Tāzūk Jahāngīrī, p. 38, for account of a seditious letter written by M. Koka to Rajah 'Alī K. See also the letter which he wrote to Akbar from Mecca. Darbār A. 859 and Khāfī K. I. 201.



might after the fashion of thorough-going men take the road of exile. He disclosed his secret to some confidants, and hurried off to Pūr Bandar. That is a populous place on the seashore. It has a stone fort, and most of the wall is of stone. From there he went to Mangalūr.<sup>1</sup> He gave out that he meditated the capture of the port of Diu, and he stopped the coming and going of traders from all the ports of Gujarat – a traffic which makes Diu prosperous. The Christians were put into straits and made a peace. It was agreed that this year the Divine<sup>2</sup> ship (*Jahāz-i-Ilāhī*) which is always filled up in Diu, should only be half filled (there) and that the other half should be freighted wherever the owner of it (*khedive*) chose, and that the 10,000 Maḥmūdīs,<sup>3</sup> which was the hire, would not be demanded, and that the embarkation might take place wherever he chose (?). No one would interfere with this. In order to deceive people, he wrote to the Jām and to Bihāra (of Kach) that he was going to court by way of Sind, and asked that they would arrange to accompany him. He also described the route, stage by stage, and requested them to make suitable arrangements for food and water. When he came to Pattan Somnāth he confined Mīr ‘Adu-r-Razzāq Bakhshī and Saiyid<sup>4</sup> Bāyazīd, and took a promise from the soldiers that they would not prevent him from going. On 15 Farwadin,<sup>5</sup> 25th March 1593, he embarked on the ship Ilāhī at the port of Balāwal<sup>6</sup> which is near

<sup>1</sup> The Māngrol of I.G. It is in the Jūnagarh State. Supposed to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> Many MSS. have *Jahāz Ilāhī-i-Kokaltāsh*. B.M. MS. 27,247 has *Ilāhī guft Kokaltāsh* “The Divine ship called the “Kokaltāsh.” Apparently the ships belonging to Akbar or those employed for the pilgrimage were all called *Ilāhī*, and *Kokaltāsh* was the name of this special ship. Possibly *jahāz* here means ships or fleet, and the meaning is that M. Koka would get one ship to himself. Probably there were at least two pilgrim-ships.

<sup>3</sup> The *Mahmūdī* was worth about

a shilling; Bayley 16 n., 10,000 then would be worth £500.

<sup>4</sup> B. 501. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that, before departing, he released them and apologised for having imprisoned them.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Rajab, 24th March 1593. Elliot V. 466. Cf. *Badayūnī*, Lowe 400, 401, *Maasir* I. 683, and *Khāfī* K. I. 197 *et seq.* M. Koka disliked A. F. and his brother, and they in their turn intrigued to have him employed far from court. He wrote to Akbar and sneeringly asked if he regarded these brothers as *Uṣmān* and ‘*Alī*. B. 326 n.

<sup>6</sup> The *Verāwal* of I.G. 2 m.



Somnāth. Six of his sons—Kharrām, Anwar, ‘Abdu-l-lah, ‘Abdu-l-laṭīf, Martazā, ‘Abdu-l-Gḥafūr, and six daughters, together with their mothers, accompanied him. He took <sup>1</sup> with him Khwāja Bā bā, Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abdu-r-raḥmān, Mullā Yūsuf, Ḥakīm Masa‘ūd, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Qāsim ‘Alī, and others, to the number of one hundred persons. The anchor was raised at night, and he went afar from the *Qibla* of hope. H.M., on hearing of this, forgave the crookedness of his vision, and his errors, and prayed to God for his deliverance, and for the success of his journey. He said, “Inasmuch as I have trod the path of peace with Jews and Nazarenes and others, how can I rise up against my own protégé? I so love ‘Azīz that though he show evil thoughts, we can think nothing but good of him. 639 Should his mother die of grief for his absence, it will be hard for him to be delivered from the harshness of the world. Otherwise he will soon repent of what he has done.” He also said, “Before this, the mother of the Mīrzā came into our presence. Before I knew what she was going to do she made a cup of water revolve round my head and then drank it. When I asked what she meant, she said, ‘This night I had a dream that something untoward had happened to the Shāhinshāh. I have taken it upon myself.’ Apparently she had seen her son in my <sup>2</sup> form.” H.M. was most gracious to his sons and servants—who were in a state of great perplexity—and raised

N. W. Somnāth temple. It is 20 m. S. E. Mangrol. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that when ‘Azīz was leaving, all the soldiers and others stood on the shore and beat their drums. Badayūnī, Lowe, 401, says people compared M. Koka’s journey to that of Ibrāhīm Adham, but that afterwards it did not matter whether he had gone or not (meaning that he lost all the merit by his afterwards accepting the Divine Faith of Akbar). He also says that Akbar had sent for him before he left, and had deprived him of Jūnagarh, and given it to Rai Singh. In A. F.’s *Insha*, Book I, there is a letter from Akbar to M. Koka, reproaching him for dis-

tressing his mother and himself by going off without leave, and for exposing his family to the dangers of the ocean. M. Koka soon repented and came back.

<sup>1</sup> The T. M’aṣūmī, Malet, 131, mentions a Ḥāmīd of Uc as one who accompanied ‘Azīz to Mecca.

<sup>2</sup> Dar paikar-i-man. But there are different readings in the MSS., and I think *paikar*, “form,” must be wrong. Possibly, the true reading is *paigar*, or *paigār-i-man* “fighting with me.” The B.M. MS. has *در سکر واقع* *dar sikr wāqa’a*, but *sirk* may be *paikar*. B.M. Or. 116 has *dar nāmālāīm* “acting improperly.”



his eldest son Shamsī<sup>1</sup> to the rank of 1000, and his other son Shādmān to the rank of 500. A fertile *jāgīr* was also bestowed. They got new life on beholding his kindness, and felt ashamed on account of their father's conduct.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of Prince Sultān Murād to the government of Gujarat. When M. Koka took the road of disobedience, and that country remained without a guardian, an order was issued on 10 Ardībihisht to that nursling of fortune, informing him that skilful and liberal men were being sent and that he should use them in the administration. When the Governor of Mālwa arrived, he should make over the province to him and proceed to Gujarat. On the 28th the standard of the seekers after knowledge, the Poet Laureate S. Faizī, returned from the Deccan, and, after an absence of 1 year, 8 months, 14 days, did homage. He was exalted by various favours. He had gone on an embassy. Burhān in his arrogance and self-will had not listened to his counsels. He had not sent fitting<sup>2</sup> presents and had prepared the materials of his own injury. Rajah 'Alī K. had to some extent listened to the commands, and had sent his daughter with choice bridal gifts for the wooing of the Prince Royal.

One of the occurrences was the capture of Kanshān.<sup>3</sup> When Zain K. Koka took Cīnkārī he stayed at Fort Fathābād which he had founded in Bajaur. He sent Mubārik K., Jalāl K. and some troops to watch over Swād. At this time the watching over the country from the other side of the Indus up to the Hindu Koh was made over to him, and the fiefholders there were directed to assist him. He applied himself to the uprooting the thornbrake of the Tārīkīs, and went to Tirāh. Qāsīm K. came unattended to Jalālābad. A feast of concord was held, and it was arranged that he should go *via* Bāzarak to the hill-country, and that the army of Bangash should come from that quarter. With this idea, the Koka went to Kabul by the Ilam<sup>4</sup> Pass. Near Gagīānī Aṣaf K. came in from

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards known as Jahāngīr Qulī K. B. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elliot V. 467 where it is stated that only fifteen elephants and a few other things were sent.

<sup>3</sup> I.O. M.S. 236 has Kanshāl, and

so have the Ma'asir II. 368, and the Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the Ailum range of Elphinstone. Cabul I. 129. It is mentioned again at 702. It was apparently a Pass into the Tirāh



Bangash, and accompanied him. At Bigrām Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and other officers—who had obtained leave from court—joined him. The Koka took up his quarters at the Pass. Qāsim K. proceeded with the Kabul troops to Tīrāh by way of Bāzārak. The Yārān (?), who 640 were among the leaders of the Afrīdīs, were killed in battle, and though other soldiers had not arrived, the Afrīdī and Orakzai tribes had recourse to entreaties. They submitted and gave some hostages. Jalāla Tārīkī left Tīrāh and went to the country of the Kāfirs. At the time when the Koka took the Fort of Cīnkārī and returned, Wahdat 'Alī his (Jalāla's) relation (son-in-law?) with the help of the Yūsufzai prevailed over the fort of Kanshān and parts of the territory of the Kāfirs. He (the Koka) left Qāsim K. in Jalālābād, and Muḥammad Qulī and Hamza Beg Atālīq in Bigrām. He took with him Āṣaf K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, S'āid K. Ghakar, Takhta Beg and others, and went to that quarter (Kanshān). Before the ill-fated Tārīkīs had crossed the Kabul river, the victorious troops came and barred their road. They failed and had to go back to the hills of Tīrah. Some were of opinion that an effort should be made to chastise them. The Kokaltāsh said, "The land-owners of Tīrāh have submitted. Probably they (the Tārīkīs) wont get access there, and they will become vagabonds. Now let our efforts be directed to overthrow Wahdat 'Alī. Before he make this difficult country secure we shall be at our ease regarding him." All approved. They left their baggage, and entered the Kāfir country by the route of Shāhzādī. Near the village of Kandī Kahār they made a new bridge over the Bajaur<sup>1</sup> river—which is 70 yards broad and is very swift. The Tārīkīs, when they crossed, had broken down the bridge. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was left to guard it, and to keep the road open. They marched seventeen stages of heights and hollows and came to a great pass, eight *kos* from the enemy. The latter had strengthened the fort of Kanshān, and were exulting in their arrogance. Halfway, at this defile and uneven ground—where a single horseman could with difficulty proceed, and there were four *kos* of straits (*tegħa*)<sup>2</sup>—they had collected stones in ten places, and were

territory. Or it may be the Shah Ālam ferry on the Kabul river. That river is also called the Shah 'Ālam.

<sup>1</sup> I presume that this is the Kashkar or Citrāl river.

<sup>2</sup> *tegħa* means a sword-blade. I presume the meaning is that the



prepared to give battle. On 6 Khurdād, 16 May 1593, the Koka advanced with some men and was searching for a camping ground. Takhta Beg, S'aīd K., Haidar 'Ali 'Arab and other brave men were sent on as the vanguard. They were to select a choice spot and halt there, and not to engage in fighting. The Afghans attacked this party, and a battle became inevitable. The enemy was driven off four times. When the Koka heard of this, he joined with the few men who were with him. The sound of the trumpet restored courage to those of the vanguard who had lost heart. Many had left their place, but Takhta Beg, S'aīd K., Haidar 'Alī 'Arab and some others did not shift their foot from the arena, and fought stoutly. On the arrival of the Kokaltāsh they renewed their efforts and devotion. Brave men too came up from the rear and took part in the fight. First, Āṣaf K. came up. The place was narrow and for three *pahars* there was a fight of spears and daggers. Suddenly Waḥdat 'Alī could not get out of the defile<sup>1</sup> (? *tegħa*). With a large number of followers he went down into a deep hollow, and by the Divine help the enemy was dispersed, and victory exalted the hearts of the imperialists. The fort of Kanṣhān, and much cultivated country, came into possession. There was a daily market of  
**641** submission. The wicked went off to the high mountains, and perished (?). This hill-country is the seat of the officer (*dārogha nishīn*) of the ruler of Kāshghar.<sup>2</sup> It is full of snow throughout the year. Active men followed, and made many men and women prisoners. Many Kāfir leaders submitted and helped to put down the Afghans. Some went off towards Caghānserai and Badakhshān in order that they might cross the Bajaur river and get shelter with the other Kāfirs. A party of the victorious troops broke down the bridges on the other side, and so the heads of the Yūsufzai—Hātim, Bābā 'Alī, Hindāl, S. Husaīn—came in and paid their respects under the safe-conduct of Qāsim K. and others. Waḥdat 'Alī too could not help coming in (i.e. surrendering). Four hundred of the enemy were killed, and 7000<sup>3</sup> were made prisoners. On the side of the imperialists thirty persons gave up their lives with honour, and 150 were

place was as narrow as the edge of a sword.

<sup>1</sup> I presume the meaning is that he could not force his way through

the pass, and had to escape by the side of the valley.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Citrāl. <sup>3</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe, 401, says 14000. Cf. Elliot V. 467.



wounded. The country was conquered up to Kāshghar and Badakhshān.

At this time Shahbāz K. was<sup>1</sup> set free. His success had somewhat darkened his understanding, and the gracious sovereign placed him in the school of instruction (the prison). When signs of instruction showed themselves, he was, after two years and more, made the recipient of favour on 24 Khurdād. On the 30th, Sher Beg Tawācībāshī arrived from Bengal, and produced 127 elephants and other articles which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the conquest of Bengal. At this time Naqīb K.<sup>2</sup> represented that Qāzī 'Īsā his uncle had made his daughter a present to H.M. and that this chaste and secluded lady had for a long time been spending her days in cherishing this wish. The world's lord—though at this time he paid less attention to such matters—accepted the representation, and on 12 Tīr he visited the house of Naqīb K. and received that chaste lady according to ancestral rites. The long-standing desire was gratified. On this day the Mota Rajah took leave to go to Sir-ohī in order that he might reduce the proprietor there to obedience, or else prepare punishment for refractoriness.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Šādiq K. as Atālīq to Prince Sultān Murād. As Ismā'īl Quli K. did not do well in this appointment, Šādiq K. was on the 13th appointed to the high office and sent off. By his skill, things were well managed there. On the 12th Amardād H.M. visited the house of Rai Rai Singh and by heartfelt sympathy soothed his grief. His beloved daughter was married to the son<sup>3</sup> of Rajah Rām Cand. When that Rajah died, his son was treated with favour and sent to that country (Pannah or Bāndhū). On the way he fell out of his litter. To cure him, he was bled, but, from unseasonable bathing, he died near his home in the town of Khora (Jarrett II. 193). On hearing of this Rai Singh's daughter thought of burning herself, but H.M. induced her to refrain from<sup>4</sup> such an idea on account of the tender age of her children.

One of the occurrences was the restoration of the country of **642**

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Badayūnī that he had been imprisoned in the fort of Kāngra and that he had to pay a fine of 7 lakhs.

<sup>2</sup> Text Naṣīb, but see B. 449.

<sup>3</sup> This was Bīr Bhadra or Balbhadra. B. 406.

<sup>4</sup> B. 358.



Tatta to M. Jānī Beg. Though the farseeing sovereign read goodness on the forehead of the Mīrzā, and had this idea (of restoring him), yet he delayed somewhat on account of the objections of undiscerning persons. At this time it came to be known that the Arghūn tribe, to the number of 10,000—men and women—was coming upstream by boat. Owing to the emigration,<sup>1</sup> the boatmen and servants were in distress and were tearing themselves with their hands and teeth. H.M.'s benevolence was touched, and on the 17th the Mīrzā was gratified by this great favour. Though some courtiers represented in a proper manner that he should be restrained from returning, their suggestions were not successful. Bandar Lahorī was made crown-property (*khālṣā*), and Sewistān, which had been a present (*peshkash*) in the first instance, was given in fief to Bakht yār Beg and some others. The emigrants got fresh life and returned from near Bhakkar.

On the 20th Zain K. Koka did homage. When Kanshān was taken, and the neighbouring country conquered, and all the rebellious made submissive, he encouraged the Kāfir chiefs to settle and develop the country. He then withdrew his thoughts from the country and returned. When he had come midway, news arrived that Jalāla was two stages off. Apparently, after he heard of the victory and of the capture of Wahdat 'Alī he had returned back and was hastening to Tīrāh. The Koka was on the point of either leaving a body of troops to protect the camp while he himself should hasten on, or of sending a party of soldiers to that spot. Owing to the ignorance of his companions neither thing was effected. Near Bajaur it became known that Jalāla was passing in the neighbourhood. They blocked the roads and halted to look for him. He, owing to the somnolence of a few, passed near the camp. The Koka sent some of his own servants in pursuit of him under the charge of Tālib Beg Badakhshī. He came up (with Jalāla) with a few men and played away his life. At the end of the day when the villain had entered the hills, Zain arrived in person with some men and Jalāla went off rapidly to Tīrāh. The inhabitants had given hos-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it was not those who were left behind who were suffering from the emigration, but those who

were obliged to take part in it, for we find that they were relieved by being allowed to return.



tages and so did not give him a passage. He went off in a distracted state to Kānguram (?). The Koka came to Begrām, and was thinking about entering the hills. At this time an order came, summoning him, and he went off to court. In this year he attained his wish. ‘Aṣaf K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and others of his companions had the bliss of an audience, and each of them was exalted by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was that a day of distraction came upon the writer of the noble volume. At the close of the 24th (Amardād) corresponding to 17 Zī-l-q‘ada, 5th August<sup>1</sup> 1593, my honoured father, the Teacher of the Age and the guide of the intelligent, departed to the sublime world. A carbuncle formed on his neck, and after eleven days he left this transitory life. Wisdom rose up to mourn, and knowledge sate down helpless.

*Verse.*

The Imām of science, the venerated councillor, the perfect teacher, 643

Who in world-guidance was the confidant of universal Reason.  
200 Bū Naṣrs<sup>2</sup> and Avicennas departed that he might be born.  
Fate in her nine<sup>3</sup> shops oft practises such trafficking.

<sup>1</sup> B. XVIII has 4 September, but, as J. has pointed out, J. III. 442, this must be a mistake. J. has Tuesday 4 August, but A. F. says it was on a Sunday. He was born in 1505, and so was 88 years old. He died at Lahore, but his body and that of his wife were sent in September 1594 by A. F. to Agra and there buried in the family burial-ground. See A. N. III. 654, last line. A. F. says his father was ill for 11 days, and in the Ayīn he mentions 7. What is meant is that he died 7 days after taking leave of his son. He had been already ill, and it was the sense of his approaching end which made him bid adieu to his son. There is a full account of Mubārik in the Darbārī Akbarī.

<sup>2</sup> Bū Naṣr is Abū Naṣr Fārābī, for whom see D’Herbelot s. v. Farābī. Avicenna is called in text Bū ‘Alī. See D’Herbelot s. v. Sina. 200 is used for any large number.

<sup>3</sup> A metaphor, I presume, for the nine heavens, but I.O. MS. 235 has *tah* instead of *nah* or *nuh*. *Tah dukan* would mean the bottom, or inner part, of the shop, and the meaning would thus be that Fate often keeps such goods as Mubārik in the bottom, i.e. in the hidden part of her storehouse. This seems to make more sense. Possibly, the *nah* is for “not” and means that Fate does not often possess such precious goods. The proper translation seems to be, “Fate oft keeps such goods in her inner shop.”



Whiles he circled the earth with the caravan of the Peripatetics,  
 Whiles he careered o'er the skies with the Illuminati,  
 The Ages contended for his perfect birth  
 With the era of Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar Ghāzī.

Who would have supposed that the ocean would sink into two yards of earth or that a mountain would at a breath be moved from its place? Had substitution been permitted, many life-lovers had shed their lives! What question then of a life-hater? The condition of myself—who had but little understanding—was upset, and I was near abandoning my life.

*Verse.*

My heart became blood, and blood rose above my chest,  
 Because that soul of the world passed from my view.  
 Alas, it is in every respect a day of orphanhood,  
 For to-day both my sire and my saint have passed away.

He held high rank in the rational and traditional sciences, and had on his tongue the views of the philosopher, the orator, and the Sūfī, and of every form of religion. He had received from the Great Teacher (God) every kind of knowledge. He removed the veil of formal science from over spiritual beauty, and cultivated seclusion in the midst of society. The ways of contemporaries stained not the hem of his soul. In spite of his profound insight he did not see his own perception and devotion (i.e. was not conscious of them), and did not bring his goods to market. He did not sell his ecstasy (*hālāt*) and knew no finesse (*hīlat*). The turmoil of the world did not engage his mind. His search for proof made no distinction between the great and the small, and from his intelligence, he when vexed took the path of humility. He did not withhold the truth from the powerful, and in giving counsel he never troubled for himself. At the close of his life, and when little <sup>1</sup> time remained to him, he at the desire of some friends completed a great commentary, and left an abundant memorial of himself in every description of knowledge. The discerning remained in astonishment. In his <sup>2</sup> hundredth year

<sup>1</sup> *b'andak rūzgār*. I think these words mean when time was nearly over with him.

<sup>2</sup> This account of his father should be compared with the fuller biography given in the *Āīn*, J. 419 etc



he possessed the fire of youth, and fulness of years did not restrain him from expending soul and body. At the beginning of his illness he sent for this one (the author) who was bewildered with existence and took him in his arms. He spoke many heartfelt words and bade him adieu. On account of my crudity I was in a state of distraction, but was silenced somewhat by the kindness of H.M. Ten years before this a severe illness befell him (Mubārik). H.M. said, "If it does not end within ten hours, there will be danger on the 10th day : if not, there will be danger in the 10th month : and if not, there will be (danger) in the last day of the tenth year." Afterwards it so happened, and the veil was once more removed from H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things. Out of his stout-heartedness and strong life, he did not die, and bore the burden of life on the shoulder of weakness. There is no contending against Fate ! Nor any remedy against its hunting after life, and its destruction of endurance !

*Verse.*

Gone is the world's philosopher to whom  
While yet on earth<sup>1</sup> the gates of the spiritual heaven were  
open.

Without him, his kindred are orphans and dead of heart.

He was the Adam of his race and the Jesus of his family.

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Where is the strength to control my grief for that unique one of God ? My heart is lacerated with its own grief. I, who am an inmate of the hermitage of resignation and submission, was struck a heavy blow, and nolens volens I became impatient. I cannot tell if this misfortune (his father's death) was the result of destiny or

Shaikh Mubārik was born in 911 (1505) and he died in 1001, August 1593, so that he was under 90 when he died. The *Darbārī Akbarī* has a long and interesting notice of him. A. F. does not say much about his father's commentary. It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that Akbar was not pleased at its being written without reference to him, and was still more displeased with A. F. for send-

ing copies of it to various foreign princes without his permission. The story is also told in the *Khulāsat-tawārīkh*.

<sup>1</sup> Text in first line has *azjahān*, but the MSS. have *barjahān*, and it is *bar* in the *Āīn* II. 271 where the same stanza is quoted. See J. III. 442 where there is a spirited translation in rhyme. The D. *Akbarī* 354 has another reading.



was one greater than could be imagined. This story of grief and pain is very long, and this tale of a lasting sore is life-consuming. It is better that I wrap up this mortal event in this book of fortune, and with this verse<sup>1</sup> control my disturbed mind.

*Verse.*<sup>2</sup>

Happy are they, for the bitter waters of death's poison  
Have smote their pitchers with the highest and deepest  
organ tones  
Close the lips, for the incurably wounded of Fate  
Have become wild, and have cried from the depths.

On the 26th Mīr Manīr—who had been sent with counsels to the ruler of Golconda—arrived with the ambassador and the tribute (*peshkash*), and was honoured by an audience.

One of the occurrences was the accepting of Shāhrukh M. as a son-in-law (*farzandī*). On 11 Shahriyūr (September 1594), that jewel of a noble family, who joined modesty with knowledge, received his exaltation. In the quarters of Miriam Makānī, Shakrnisā Begam—the beloved child of the Shāhīnshāh—was united to him. When this auspicious meeting was over, another great feast was prepared and another daughter, *viz.* Khānim<sup>3</sup> Sultān, was united to Moẓaffar Husain M., the son of Ibrāhīm Husain M. On the 19th the daughter of Rājah Ālī K. was made over to the harem of the Prince-Royal, and that family obtained a strong protection. On the 23rd, Adham, the son of Niyābat K. died. The world's lord conveyed his sympathies to Māmā<sup>4</sup> Āghā. From there he went to the

<sup>1</sup> The I.O. MSS. have a different reading here.

<sup>2</sup> See Vullers s.v. *sabū*. The allusion is perhaps in part to the custom of throwing down old pitchers from a roof on the last Wednesday of a month, and crying out, "Go, Sorrow: Come, Joy!" But probably the main reference is to the noise made by a pitcher when it strikes the water in a well. Those who have died, that is, those whose pit-

chers have struck the waters of death, have sounded the highest and deepest notes of sorrow.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Shahzāda Khānim. She was Akbar's eldest daughter and was born in 1569.

<sup>4</sup> She was the widow of Shihābud-dīn and was related to Miriam-Makānī, A. N. III. 716, and B. 333. Perhaps she was a daughter of Māham Anaga. Niyābat was Shihābud-dīn's nephew, and was put to



quarters of Zain K. Koka and reposed there a little. At dawn M. Yūsuf K. came from Kashmīr and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*.

One of the occurrences was the sending Shāhrukh M. to look after Mālwa. H.M. had been searching for a governor of Mālwa from the time that Gujarat had been made over to Prince Sulṭān Murād. As his ability and consideration for the peasantry were conspicuous, he was on 7 Mihr raised to the high rank of 5,000, and after receiving weighty counsels he was sent off there. Shahbāz K. was raised to the office of Atālīq and sent with him—Haidar Dost and ..... (three lines of names) were also appointed.

death in 997 (Badayūnī, Lowe, 308). He had been married to a daughter of Nahīd Begam. See T. M'āṣūmī.

His proper name seems to have been Najāt. B. 439.



## CHAPTER CXVIII.

## ARRIVAL OF RUSTUM M. AT COURT.

From the time when, by the order of H.M., Shāh Muḥammad  
 645 Qilāti made over Qandahar to the agents of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and came  
 to India, the Shāh (Ṭahmāsp) had given it to his brother's son Sulṭān  
 Ḥusain M., the son of Bahrām M. He always behaved respectfully to  
 H.M. and sent presents, and reckoned himself as a servant. As he  
 always kept the chain of obedience in motion, Qandahar was not  
 taken from him in spite of the Shāh's death. He died of drinking  
 in the 21st year, leaving four<sup>1</sup> sons : Moẓaffar Ḥusain M., Rustum M.,  
 Abū S'aīd M., Sanjar M. From courtesy and appreciation of rank,  
 that populous country was left to them. Shāh Ism'ā'il—that blood-  
 shedder—set about, in his distracted brain, the slaying of his brothers  
 and his other relatives. He appointed some persons to put those at  
 Qandahar to death. Those sent got hold of them, but cupidity and the  
 gratification of their wishes led to the preservation of life. When  
 the Shāh heard of this, he became indignant, and assigned Qandahar  
 to Shāh Qalī Sulṭān Zū-ul-Qadr, and the latter sent Budāgh Beg to  
 take their lives and to annex the country. The murderers trembled<sup>2</sup>  
 for themselves and arranged that on the following morning they  
 would put them to death. Suddenly a report spread that the blood-  
 shedder was dead, and the innocent persons escaped. When the  
 government of Persia came to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, he  
 left them in possession of the country. M. Moẓaffar Ḥusain, the elder  
 brother, was in Qandahar, while Rustum M. and his two other  
 brothers lived in Zamīn Dāwar. From selfwill and the turbulence of  
 youth, they quarrelled among themselves. Moẓaffar Ḥusain was de-

<sup>1</sup> The Maasir III. 696 speaks of  
 five sons.

<sup>2</sup> For not having carried out the

previous order for the murder of the  
 Mīrzās.



feated and retired to the fort. Rustum M. invested it for forty days, but by contrivances, peace was made and they met one another. When 'Abdullah Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, besieged Herat, Īgān Sultān Afshār, the governor of Farāh, by means of entreaties brought Rustum M. to his aid. He fought with the Turanian soldiers and did not give up Farāh. From not knowing his friends, and from somnolence of intellect, he (Rustum) killed Īgān Sultān. Sulaimān Khalīfa joined him from Khurāsān in order that he might make the Mīrzā an instrument of strife, but a happy star prevented the Mīrzā from acceding to this. But at his instigation he laid hands upon Sīstān which is commonly known as Nīmroz. Mozaffar Husain M. found his opportunity and hastened to make an expedition against Zamīn Dāwar. Rustum M. came there, and a great battle ensued. Mozaffar Husain M. could not withstand him and retreated to Qandahar. Mercenary and fly-like creatures were continually going from one to the other, and were disturbing the public peace. When the old enmity had got the upper hand, they severed the ancient connection with Persia, and did not attach themselves to the Shāhinshāh's court. At last, the elder brother prevailed, and took Zamīn Dāwar. M. Rustum came to Herat and attacked Qilāt. Meanwhile a report was spread of the approach of the victorious troops, and M. Rustum had the good thought of making friendly overtures to Sharīf K. Atka, the governor of Ghaznīn. He also sent a humble representation to the sublime court, and expressed a wish to pay his respects. A comforting letter was sent to him by Mīrak Jalāir and Mihtar Ibrāhīm, and an order was given to the fief-holders 646 on the route that they should regard the coming of the Mīrzā as an honour, and show him proper respect. When he arrived within the empire, Qarā Beg, Hakīm 'Aīn-ul-Mulk and Bakhtyār Beg were sent one after the other, and when he had nearly approached, Sharīf K. Atka, Shāh Beg K., Āṣaf K. and other officers were sent off (to meet him). On 12 Mihr, which was the festival of the Dasaraha, the Khān-Khānān, Zain K., and others received him and brought him into the presence. He glorified his forehead by performing the *sijda*. Sanjar M., his younger brother, and his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Hasan, Ibrāhīm and 400 Turkomans had the honour of an audience. Every one of them was exalted by princely favours. H.M. conferred on him a *manṣab* of 5,000, Multan



and many *parganas*, and Bilūcistān—which is larger than Qandahar.<sup>1</sup> On the 18th, Qāsim K. came from Kabul and did homage, and was the recipient of royal favours.

In this year Prince Sultān Daniel was saved by the Divine protection from a sudden danger. A great uproar occurred in the female apartments. The souls of the servants there melted. The world's lord came out to offer prayers. At evening there was some carelessness on the part of the sentinels. A madman thought it was the public hall, and entered the harem. The prince saw him and ran after him. Near the inner pigeon-house he flung him on the ground and got on the top of him. Thinking the man might use a weapon, he held both his arms tightly, and twisted them. The inner servants, who were Circassians, Qalmāqs, Russians (*Arūs*, text has *Ardūs*), and Abyssinians, rushed after him, and taking the prince for a stranger they attacked him with sticks and clods (*khisht*, perhaps bricks). From promptitude, the prince did not let go the man. At this time H.M. came out, and saw the affair. He stated: "When I approached, I thought of using my sword, and so drove off the girls. A beam which had been left at the pigeon-house prevented me from doing what I intended. Thinking that the prince was a stranger I seized him by the hair, and dragged him, and wanted to prick him with the point<sup>2</sup> of my sword. Suddenly, my wrath subsided, and mighty love seized the skirt of my heart." At the same time it appeared that the prince had thought the madman was an evil-intentioned man in his senses and so was holding him down. The lunatic was let go.

One of the occurrences was the despatch of Prince Sultān Daniel to chastise Burhān-ul-Mulk. As words of enlightenment did not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. 313, 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanjagī palārak*. Apparently, *sanjagī* is connected with the Turkish *sanjmak*, to pierce. The *Iqbāl-nāma* represents Akbar as saying he wished to inflict a wound. The account given there is more intelligible than A.F.'s. It was the darkness that caused the confusion. The Qalmāqs and Russians, etc., were women. See

B. 45. "The inside of the harem is guarded by sober and active women." B. M. N. 116 has *zakhm-i-palārak*. The beam had probably been left at the pigeon-house in consequence of its being under repair after having fallen down (p. 631). There is nothing in Add. 27,247 about Akbar's pulling his son by the hair.



enter his ears, and he regarded advices as futilities, H.M.'s idea was that he would go to Agra and from there appoint the troops. But as provisions were somewhat high in that quarter his intention was not carried out. He was obliged to send away Prince Sultān Daniel on the eve of the 25th Mihr to carry out the undertaking. He sent with him the Khān-khānān, Rai Rai Singh and many officers, and treasure, a park of artillery, and elephants. An order was given to Shāhrukh M., Shahbāz K. and the other fief-holders of Mālwa to equip troops and to proceed with the prince. An order was also given to Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that if he could turn away his attention from Bengal he should proceed from there to the Deccan. An order was also written to Prince Sultān Murād that he should make preparations for the conquest of the Deccan, and that when the soldiers had been gathered together from every side, near him, he should carry out the order. On the 4th Ābān, the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. A world had its desires gratified. 647

At this time the marriage-feast of Prince Sultān Daniel was arranged. For a long time it had been H.M.'s intention that the daughter of Qulīj K. should be united to this pearl of the crown. At this time the idea was renewed, and on the 5th, the grandees were assembled outside of the city, and the marriage was effected. There were various rejoicings and there was a daily market of enjoyment. It occurred to Qulīj K. that H.M. might visit his house. In gratitude for this great favour he arranged a feast. His request was accepted, and on the 13th there was a time of enjoyment. On the 20th, H.M. spent some time in the Rāmbārī garden, and M. Yūsuf K. obtained leave to go to Kashmīr. Artificers by the command of H.M. commenced to build four ships. On 7th Āzar, Sultān Khusrū commenced to learn Indian philosophy. Shīv Dat Brahman, who was famed as the Bhattācārje of the age, and had few equals in science, was appointed to this service. Sultān Rustūm<sup>1</sup> and Sultān Parvīz were set to learn knowledge, and by H.M.'s orders the writer of the book of fortune taught something of the alphabet. On the 17th, the elephants of M. Koka, which had been left in Gujarat, were brought, and were presented. On 3rd Dai, H.M. went to

<sup>1</sup> This is Murād's son, B. 618. Parvīz is Jahāngir's. Both were children.



Sultānpūr to hunt. On the 8th, near Haibatpūr, news came that Prince Daniel was still in Sirhind, and that the army was not making progress. H.M. did not approve, and his former idea revived (of going in person to Agra, etc.). He summoned the Khān-khānān to come post to him. Near the town of Shaikhūpūr<sup>1</sup> he had an audience. He represented that "the time for the army to enter the Deccan was after the rains. Water and forage would then be plentiful, and corn cheap. On this account there was slowness of movement." When a council was held it was unanimously agreed that Prince Daniel should return, and that when the rains were ended, the royal standards should advance, and that the Prince should remain to guard the Panjab. H.M. also said, "Since I ordered Prince Sultān Murād to go on this service, perhaps this sending (of Daniel) may vex him." Qulij K. was sent off to turn back the Prince. At this time a large black deer appeared on the hunting ground. The sovereign so struck it with an arrow that it did not move, and when an enquiry was made it was found that the bones of its waist were broken. The head (of the arrow) came out with difficulty. Some persons stated that in the Ajmere expedition a large tiger had been knocked over in this way. The acute of sight were astonished. On the 15th near Sultānpūr the Khān-khānān obtained leave in order that he might assemble the troops in Agra. H.M. returned. On the 17th, near Patīāla, Prince Sultān Daniel did homage. An extraordinary thing was that on this day a petition came from Prince Sultān Murād representing that "he had come to Aḥmadābād on 6 Āzar, and was preparing for the expedition to the Deccan. He had heard that Prince Sultān Daniel had also been appointed to this service. H.M.'s sublime thoughts were pleasing to God, but he (Murād) feared lest he might have done something improper, or meddlers might have said something unfitting." H.M., from his knowledge of secrets, had anticipated his wishes. On the 22nd, H.M. arrived at Lahore, and the world reposed anew.

One of the occurrences was the increase of saffron<sup>2</sup> in Kashmīr. Formerly each seed yielded less than three flowers, and the amount received by government did not exceed 20,000 *traks*, but was not

<sup>1</sup> Shaikhūpūr in text, but Shaikhāpūr in I.O. MS. 236 and in Elliot VI. 91. Sultānpur is on the Beās, 35 *kos* from Lahore. Elliot V. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. L. 4 and J. II. 357.



less than 7,000. Once in M. Haidar's time it was 28,000 *traks*. This year when it became *khālṣa* the ruler's share was 90,000 *traks*. Though there was more land under cultivation, yet the flowers were also more than usual. Every seed yielded up to eight flowers. On 18 Bahman, the report was received, and thanks were returned to God.

One of the occurrences was the destruction of the Kashmīr porters. Numerous traders were bringing their goods. Near Pīr Panjāl there was a fall of snow, and a hillock was dislodged. 115 men lost their lives under it. In accordance with justice the goods reached the owners and the despairing had their desires gratified.

At this time Rai Patr Dās was sent to conquer the fort of Bandhū. It is one of the famous fortresses of the world. When Rājah Rām Cand and his son died, wicked men made the young grandchild an instrument of strife, and rose up to oppress the peasantry. H.M. on 1 Isfandārmaz sent that servant to civilise the country and to punish the evil-doers, and to take the fort. Next day Abū S'aīd M. had an audience. He was the brother of Rustūm M., and had remained behind in Qandahar. At this time he was exalted by doing homage, and was gratified by princely favours. On the 13th, Rajah Mān Singh did homage. After conquering **649** Orissa, he came to Rohtās. H.M. had called him to himself. When he arrived within one stage of Lahore, the Prince-Royal was given leave<sup>1</sup> from the hunting field. An order was given that as during the mourning for Rajah Bhagwānt Das, condolences had not been sent to the Rajah (Mān Singh, the adopted son of Bhagwānt), the Prince-Royal should proceed from the hunting-ground to his quarters. The order was carried out, and that chosen servant (Mān Singh) obtained high honour. Naṣīb, Lodī and Jamāl, the sons of Qutlū, Jalāl K. Khāshkel . . . . . Yūsuf Kāshī Pānde, Purusotam—who were headmen in Orissa—were introduced by the Rajah. On the 14th, Ismāil Qulī K. arrived from Gujarat, and did homage. On the 22nd, M. Yūsuf<sup>2</sup> arrived from Kashmīr.

<sup>1</sup> *Rukhṣat shikār farmūdand*. This might mean "gave him leave to hunt." But the context seems to show that it means he was allowed to leave the hunting field. Perhaps Jahangīr was to go to 'Ambar.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the Iqbāl-nāma that Yūsuf had gone back to Kashmīr to settle matters, and that the present entry refers to his return from there.



## CHAPTER CXIX.

BEGINNING OF THE 39TH YEAR, VIZ. THE YEAR KHURDĀD OF THE  
4TH CYCLE.

On the eve of Monday 28 Jamāda-al-ākhirī, 1002 H. (10 or 11 March, 1594) after the passing of 9h. 44m. 22s., the world-illuminating sun lighted up his mansion of exaltation, and the third year of the 4th cycle began. The earth rose up with grace, and the heavens set themselves to rejoicings.

*Verse.*

By the might of delineation, the moon became like the Gallery  
of Mānī.

The parterre became by skill like the mind of Avicenna.

In the tray of the buds the morning was like the musk of  
Khallakh (a city in Turkistan).

In the mortar of tulips the air became like the powdered amber-  
gris of Sārā.<sup>1</sup>

H.M. celebrated entrancing feasts up to the day of exaltation, and Divine worship assumed a higher form. On 7 Farwardīn 10,000 cavalry were assigned to the Prince-Royal. Five thousand (of them) received *jāgīrs* in Bengal. Among them were Jagat Singh, Darjan Singh, Sakat Singh, Bāqir Safarcī, M. Muḥammad, Bāqir Anṣārī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Y'aqūb Kashmīrī,<sup>2</sup> Sharīf Sarmadī. Four thousand (received *jāgīrs*) near Lahore the capital. Among them were Takhta Beg, Rai Manūhar, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Ṣalāḥa-d-dīn Bāngā, S. Khūbū, Mīr Murād Sarmast, Muqīm K., Khwāja Muḥibb  
650 'Alī Khāfī, S. Kabīr, Ḥakīm Mozaffar. One thousand<sup>3</sup> Aḥadīs were appointed who received pay monthly from the (imperial)

<sup>1</sup> A place on the 'Omām coast, famous for ambergris.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is Y'aqūb Chak the son of Yūsuf, the former ruler of

Kashmīr. A Kashmīrī chronicle quoted in Rieu I. 300a says, Y'aqūb was poisoned by Akbar!

<sup>3</sup> This is a detail of the 10,000



treasury. Sultān Khusrū, who though small<sup>1</sup> (khurd) in years was great in wisdom (khird), was raised to the *manṣab* of 5,000. Rajah Rām Cand, Himmat Singh, Bahāū Singh, Sher K., Bahādur Kūrūh, Salīm K. Loḥānī, Sultān Sūr, Allahdād Loḥānī, 'Isā K. Maswānī. Nūram Koka, S'aīd K. Mandūrī, Naṣīr K. Mīāna, Manū K. Loḥānī, Tāj K. Loḥānī, Sajāwal K. Jīlam, Ulagh K. Loḥānī, and some others were assigned to that new fruit of dominion. The territory of Orissa was given to him in fief. Rajah Mān Singh, whose ability and loyalty were conspicuous, was made Atālīq, and his maintenance-jāgīr was allotted<sup>2</sup> to him in Bengal, which country was made over to his charge. S'aīd K. became the warden of the province of Bihar. On this day M. Rustum obtained a flag and a drum, and was exalted by great favours. On the 8th the feast of the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a daily market of liberality, and all sorts of men attained their desires.

At this time Moẓaffar Ḥusain came forward with apologies. When it became bruited abroad that the victorious troops intended to capture Qandahar, and Rustum M. arrived at the threshold of fortune, he turned his rein somewhat from wickedness, and fell into consternation. From a happy star he sent his mother with his eldest son Bahrām M. and begged for quarter. On the 9th the visitors obtained an audience, and the petition was granted. Qarā Beg<sup>3</sup> — who had been long connected with that family—and M. Beg Qadīmī were sent to convey to the Mīrzā the news of forgiveness and to bring him to court. Shāh Beg was appointed to watch over that country. On the day of exaltation (sharf) Khwāja Daulat Nāẓir was promoted on account of his good service and received the high dignity of Khanship. On this day Mīr<sup>4</sup> Ḥaidar M'aammāī (riddle-

assigned to Jahāngīr. The Aḥadīs were to get their pay from the imperial treasury.

<sup>1</sup> He was only six.

<sup>2</sup> Text, *tan shud*. Tan is a contraction for *tan<sup>kh</sup>wāh*. See Irvine's *Moghul Army*, p. 39, and also the Cawnpore Akbarnama editor's note on the passage in text.

<sup>3</sup> See *Maasir* III. 299, which calls him Qarā Beg Kūrjāī and says he was an old servant of Sultān Ḥusain but had run away from Moẓaffar. Akbar made him farāshbegī.

<sup>4</sup> B. 593. He is Rafīī of Kāshān. *Badayūnī* III. 232.



maker) came from Persia, and had an audience, and was gratified by princely favours. On the 20th Shīroyah the son of Sherāfgan (B. 455) received the title of Khān, and that good servant's wishes were gratified. On the 30th, Jabbārī the son of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl was released and treated with favour. From associating with wicked men, he had rebelled in Bengal. When he was arrested, he was sent to the school of the prison. Signs of repentance were read on his forehead, and he was released. On 1 Ardībihisht (11 or 12 April, 1594) Mullā Ṣālah Bokhārī came from Tūrān, and had the bliss of kissing the threshold. He was acquainted with the current sciences, and was to some extent free from bigotry. At this time Hakīm 'Alī Gīlānī made a wonderful tank.<sup>1</sup> There was a passage in it to a room (*kāshāna*), and a wonderful thing was that the water of the tank did not enter it. Men who went down into it to find the entrance had much trouble, and many returned from half-way. On the 5th H.M. went to inspect it, and personally went down. He did not listen to the warnings of men and entered the place, and

**651** stayed for some time. The spectators<sup>2</sup> nearly died (of terror), but came to themselves on hearing of his welfare. I lost my senses on seeing this misplaced courage, but submitted to fate and remained silent. On 1 Khurdād Hājī Habīb Ullah died. He was one of the good men of the world, and enjoyed H.M.'s favour. On this day Sharīf Wuqū'ī<sup>3</sup> died. On the 13th Samānj'ī K. was summoned from Oudh, and was exalted by doing homage. Next morning Qāsim K. was sent off to Kabul, and Shāh Beg K. was sent to his fiefs in Khūshāb and Bangash, and an order was issued that he should prepare for an expedition, and march to Qandahar whenever the officers going there should summon him. In this year the Jām came to Prince

<sup>1</sup> B. 466 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 273. See also Māaṣir I. 570, whose account seems taken partly from the Iqbāl-nāma, Part 2. It is said there that the water was kept out of the chamber by means of air. See also the quotation from the Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh. Elliot VI. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Bīnandagārrā*, but the variant *bandagānrā* has the support of the

I.O. MSS. The next sentence is obscure, but apparently the *bejā dilerī* refers to Akbar, and A. F. intimates that he did not approve of it. See note in Cawnpore ed. Perhaps A. F. means that he followed Akbar into the chamber, but if so, he would probably have described it.

<sup>3</sup> A poet. See B. 591 and Badayūnī III. 378.



Sultān Murād, and enjoyed eternal bliss. On this day Naurang K. died of diarrhœa near Jūnagarh. His survivors were cared for by H.M.

At this time the thorn-brake of falsehood was uprooted and a world had repose. The collectors of the Khālṣa, the fief-holders and the assayers (*ṣairafī*) of the mint were summoned, and a proper test and just weight were assigned to the coins. On the 15th the charge of this work was given to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. His disinterestedness and laboriousness remedied in the course of two months the old disease of the gold and silver. The embezzlers retired into obscurity. Also on this day Ism'aīl Qulī K. was deputed to Kālpī in order that he might develop the *jāgīr*, and make himself ready for service. On the 20th, 'Abdu-r-razzāq M'amūrī arrived from Gujarat, and had an audience. Next morning Muḥammad Yār, the daughter's son of Gulbadan Begam, from illfatedness, went off to the hills with some companions. He hurried off with rebellious designs. Silhadī and Danmandās and others were sent after them. Khair Ullah Kotwāl went a little ahead and contrived to detain them by words, so that the others came up. Some were killed and he and seven others were made prisoners. Fourteen rubies, a chaplet of choice pearls, some embroidered jewels (*marāṣṣ'aāt*) and much property were taken from him. On the 24th Rajah Mān Singh was sent off to Bengal after receiving weighty counsels, in order that he might carry out the royal regulations. On the 30th a ship was completed on the banks of the Rāvī. The length of the keel (*cobī*), which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilāhī yards. 2936 large planks (*shāhtīr*) of *sāl* and pine (*nāgā*),<sup>1</sup> and 468 *mans* two *sīrs* of iron, were used in building it, and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths 652 and others were employed. H.M. went to see the spectacle. A thousand persons struggled to drag it along. In ten days it was brought from the dry land to the water, and sent to Bandar Laharī. There was much difficulty on account of deficiency of water. On 20 Tīr Miyān Karm Ullah died of illness in Saronj. His children were provided for by H.M. On 7 Amardād Durjan Kachwāha, who was one of the confidential servants, died.

One of the occurrences was the death of Qāsim K. and the punishment of Muḥammad Zamān. It has been mentioned that a

<sup>1</sup> Text has wrongly *nākhūd*. See about ships. B. 280.



6th Āzar he sent Qāzī Ḥasan to the northern mountains. As S. Farīd had done much work in that quarter, it was ordered that he should be recalled, and that the envoy (Qāzī Ḥasan) should finish the task with the help of Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī. On this day Shīroza K. was sent to Ajmere in order that he might become acquainted with the soldiers and peasantry, and might promote happiness by the administration of justice. On the 13th M. Koka had the bliss of an audience. When he glorified his forehead by prostration, H.M. raised his head by the hand of graciousness, and embraced him. From exceeding love, tears fell from his eyes, and he called his (the Mīrzā's) mother into the presence and relieved her of her dangerous sorrow. He was favoured by being made a Panjhazārī (5,000), and was named the Khān 'Ā'zam. It was left to his choice as to whether he should take his *jāgīrs* in Gujarat, or in the Panjāb, Bihar, etc. He chose Bihar. His sons also received *manṣabs* and fiefs. The idea of great and small had been, that he would not return to this country (India). One morning, at the hunting-ground of Sultānpūr, H.M. said, "M. Koka will soon repent and convey the face of apology to court." In a short space of time his heart emerged from darkness, but he remained in a state of bewilderment. He had not the effrontery to return, and he could not think of staying. Suddenly, he became aware again of H.M.'s graciousness, and giving up all other ideas he set out on the ocean. In twenty-four days he came back from the port of Balāiwal, and gathered eternal bliss by paying his devotions (to Akbar). A new aspect was given to submission. On this day 'Alī Muḥammad Asp brought to  
**656** court Bahabū the *zamindār* of Jasrota. When S. Farīd went to the northern mountains, he adroitly came and paid his respects. As his craftiness was proved, he was seized and sent to court. On the 16th S'aādat Yār Koka died. His elementary constituents were dissolved by excessive drinking. H.M. implored mercy for him. He graciously went to the house of his sister Ḥājī<sup>1</sup> Koka and administered consolation. He also showed suitable kindness to his children.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the Maasiru-l-Umarā that she lived into Jahāngīr's reign, and was superintendent of the Harem (Ṣadr-anās). See Tūzuk J.

21 and translation, p. 46, where it is stated that Jahāngīr employed her to present the women who were worthy to receive money and land.



One of the occurrences was the return of the Persian ambassador. A long time ago Yādgār Sultān Shāmlū had brought a supplicatory letter from the ruler of that country along with presents. On the 23rd he received a gracious *firmān* and permission to depart. Zīyā-al-Mulk was sent with him as ambassador and Abū Nāṣir as custodian of the presents. An order was given that they should go by the Rāvī to Bandar Lāharī, and from thence to Persia by way of Ormuz. A weighty letter from the court of the Caliphate was written which might be of use to the acute, and an arm-amulet of fortune.



## CHAPTER CXX.

LETTER OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO PERSIA, ACCOUNT OF THE  
OTTOMAN DYNASTY.

Allah Akbar. Praise and supplication of the sublime threshold of the Unity—Glory be to the Name—are such that if all the niceties of Reason, and all the Categories of Intellect together with the armies of the Intelligences, and hosts of the Sciences, were gathered together, they would not amount to one letter of that book or to one ray of that sun, though, in the eyes of truth, all the motes of existence are a fountain-head of Divine praise, which with a tongueless tongue come forth and moisten the parched lips and burnt-up throats of non-existence with true praise! It is better then to shorten the lasso of thought before the pinnacle of eternal glory—to which the pure spirits (the angels) cling—and to apply oneself to the laudation of the glorious company of the prophets and apostles—on whom be benediction and peace! Let us proclaim in the pulpits of publicity; firstly, their glorious conditions, and secondly, the beautiful gifts whereby they have led mankind from the defiles of error into the highway of favour and guidance, and let us tell of the bounties and noble qualities of the “members of the household” (*Ahl-i-bait*) who are confidants of the great secrets, and unveilers of the mysteries of the prophets, and let us, relying thereupon, implore new mercy! But inasmuch as on a just view it appears that the praises<sup>1</sup> of those shewers forth of things Divine and human, and that the greatness of that assemblage of spirits who have been consumed in the search for truth and who are transitory in the midst of permanency, are a shadow of the praises of Omnipotence, it is fitting that we abstain from this likewise, and place on the preamble of our statement some points from the current performances of the masters of wisdom, with whose practical science the administration of mundane affairs is associated. For assuredly, in this way do the zealous travel-

<sup>1</sup> There is a difference of reading here.



lers on the paths of faith, and those who slake themselves at the fountains of truth—who have set before themselves the refreshing of the categories of the visible and invisible—become affused with auspiciousness!

Glory be to God the great and holy! The beholding of the pure and honoured letter which was sent along with Yādgar Sultān Shāmlū in the midst of spring and at the time of the equability of night and day made our loving soul to exult. The joyous breeze of the tulips and fragrant flowers became insinuated into the convolutions of the brain, for this nosegay of love and friendship conveyed the perfume of unanimity. What you have written about the delay in writing letters of affection is very appropriate. In truth, spiritual relationships require that there should not be such delays. But you must have heard from comers and goers what great affairs, and continued wars, have occurred to us against the princes of India, which has been reckoned by geometricians as four-sixths of the seven climes. During this long period, this vast country which was shared among so many independent chiefs and martial rulers has by the Divine aid been conquered by the imperial servants. From the mountains of the Hindu Koh to the shores of the ocean all the rebels and stiff-necked ones of three directions—strongfisted<sup>1</sup> rulers and arrogant rajahs, shortsighted Afghan mountaineers, swiftly-careering, desert-dwelling Balūcīs and other fortress-dwellers and land-owners—have, one and all, come into the shade of obedience, and the tribes of mankind have enjoyed equability in concord. By the Divine aid that which was revolving in our truth-choosing soul has become accomplished fact. When the Panjab had become the seat of sovereignty it was our secret design to send an able ambassador, but some undertakings intervened. The chief of these was the deliverance of the inhabitants of the heart-rejoicing country of Kashmīr from the hands of villanous tyrants. In spite of the strength of the country, and the long marches, the lofty mountains, the dense forests, the numerous ravines—which can with difficulty be crossed by the forces of the imagination—were by grasping the strong cable of Divine aid by the support of the spirits of the holy Imāms—May Peace be upon them—traversed by the sublime army in an excellent

<sup>1</sup> Text has wrongly *zerdast* instead of *zabardast*. See Errata.



fashion. Several thousand active stone-cutters went on, stage by stage, in advance, and put forth the hand of ability in eradicating rocks and in cutting down forests and in making roads. Accordingly, that delightful country was conquered in a short time, and the standards of justice waved over the inhabitants in general. When that splendid country—which is lauded by all spectators who approve of beauty—was granted to us by the Divine favour, we ourselves went there and offered up our thanksgivings. We journeyed on to the hill-country of Tibet and then proceeded by the route of Paklī and Damtaur—which is a very difficult route—to Kabul and Ghaznīn. We chastised the carnivorous Afghans, the brigands who in the country of Swād, Bajaur and Bangash, are a stone of stumbling to travellers to Tūrān, and we punished the wicked Balūcīs, and other desert-dwellers who are of a bestial nature, and are deceitful foxes, and who are a thorn in the path of Persian travellers. There were incidents, but the root of the delay (in writing) was the confusion in Persia and the distracted state of that country after the inevitable event (of the death) of H.M. the Shāh (Muḥammad Khudābanda)—May God make his proof clear. At the time when the ambassador arrived with an auspicious message, it became known that the confusion was diminishing. Assuredly, our anxious heart was comforted on hearing this news. It was infused into our soul based upon truth that at this time it was not consonant to humanity and liberality merely to make inquiries. The consolation which it occurred to us was to give every assistance that could be desired. But the affairs of Qandahār intervened, for the Mīrzās there showed slackness in assisting the sublime family (that of the Ṣafavī dynasty), and on the occurrence of accidents and misfortunes—which is the time for testing the jewel of fidelity—they did not at all show marks of concord and unanimity. Nor did they repair to our sublime asylum, which is the native land of the masters of delight and ease. It therefore occurred to us that we should in the first place make over Qandahar to our own people. Should the Mīrzās come to comprehend the nature of our daily-increasing dominion and repent of their past deeds, and render service to the representative of the flower of the pure and holy, our victorious troops would join with them and perform every act of assistance that that darling of the Sultānate (Shāh ‘Abbās) might desire. But as the Mīrzās had ancient



connections with our holy family and as the sending of our victorious hosts without making previous inquiry would appear, to the short-sighted general public, to be a breaking of ties, we abstained from it. Meanwhile Rustum M. arrived, and the province of Multan—which is several times larger than Qandahar—was conferred on him. And Mozaffar Husain M. on hearing of our benignities sent his mother and his eldest son, and meditated coming in person. After his arrival the victorious army will proceed to Qandahār and will easily perform every kind of help. As in the rules of sovereignty and the religion of humanity, concord is preferable to opposition and peace better than war, and especially as it has been our disposition from the beginning of our attaining discretion to this day not to pay attention to differences of religion and variety of manners and to regard **659** the tribes of mankind as the servants of God, we have endeavoured to regulate mankind in general. The blessings of this lofty principle—which is in accord with magnanimity—have once and again showed themselves. At this time when the Panjab was the seat of government our firm intention had been to uprear the sublime standards towards Transoxiana which was the country of our ancestors, so that both might that country come into the possession of the imperial servants, and also that the family of the prophets (the Safavī family) might be assisted in a suitable manner. Meanwhile the asylum of benevolence ‘Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān sent, time after time, loving letters referring to ancient relationships, and confirmatory of affection, by the instrumentality of skilful ambassadors, and thereby set **66** in motion the chain of concord and devotion and laid the foundation of affection. As to go to war with one who is disposed to be peaceable is contrary to the Divine decrees and is disapproved of in the balance of lofty reason, our head turned away from this project. Stranger still: As yet nothing which could be completely relied upon has been heard from persons arriving from that country about the reformation of the disorders of Persia and the Persians, nor has any truthful exposition been obtained about the fundamental character of that scion of purity (Shāh ‘Abbās). We hope that knowing that our loving heart is disposed towards every kind of subject and enterprise, you will tread the beautiful path of correspondence and cause the arrival of truthful, diurnal reports. At the present day, when there are very few wise and acute men who look to the future



in Persia, it behoves that cream of lofty ancestors (S. 'Abbās) to exert himself greatly in the management of the country and in the conciliation of all the inhabitants. In every undertaking he must regard caution and have a thought of the final result, and he must not let his heart be perplexed by the fictions of interested people and the lies of intriguing weavers of tales. He must practise endurance of burdens and the ignoring of the mistakes of hereditary servants and new employés, and advance the sincere, and by the light of graciousness cleanse the rust of darkness from off the hypocritical. He must also exercise supreme caution before putting any one to death and destroying what is an edifice of God. Many life-friends have been removed from their near position by the craft of self-interested enemies and have drunk the blood of death, and many enemies and seeming friends have donned the garb of loyalty and engaged in destroying the foundations of dominion. Ample thought must be exercised in studying the hearts and secrets of those men. The lent fortune of this transitory state must be made submissive to the Divine pleasure. The sections of mankind, who are a Divine deposit and treasure, must be regarded with the glance of affection, and efforts must be made to conciliate their hearts. It must be considered that the Divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed, and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of "Peace with all." The increase of one's good fortune must always be kept in full view, for the eternal God is bounteous to all souls and conditions of men. Hence it is fitting that kings, who are the shadow of Divinity, should not cast away this principle. For, the Creator has given this sublime order (that of kings) for the discipline and guardianship of all mankind, so that they may watch over the honour and reputation of every class. Men do not knowingly and intentionally make mistakes in worldly affairs, which are unsubstantial and pass away, why then should they be negligent in the affairs of faith and religion, which are permanent and everlasting? In fine, the position of every sect comes under one of two categories. Either it is in possession of Truth, and in that case one should seek direction from it and accept its views. Or it is in the wrong, and then it is unfortunate and suffering from the disease of ignorance, and is a subject for pitying kindness, and not for harshness and reproach. One must exercise wide toleration and knock at the door of inspec-



tion, for in this way will the veil be removed from the wide extent of spiritualities and temporalities, and there will be ample life and fortune. One of the advantages of this method is that at a time of want of leisure and of the predominance of wrath, friends will not be destroyed under the idea that they are enemies, and that enemies masquerading as friends will not have an opportunity for deceit. One must strenuously adhere to one's word, for this is a pillar of rule. Patience and endurance must ever be one's companions, for the maintenance of permanent dominion depends thereon. Let it not be concealed that it was our intention to dispatch one of our chosen confidants along with Yādgār Sultān in order that he might learn the real facts about Persia and report to us. Meanwhile a number of rebels and strife-mongers rose up in Kashmīr. We were in the hunting-ground with a few intimates when the news of this arrived. A Divine inspiration made us proceed thither rapidly, and we had not reached Kashmīr when gallant heroes--who out of necessity had become the companions of this rebellious crew--got their opportunity and brought the head of the ringleader to us. When that territory had become, by the blessing of our advent, a site of peace and tranquillity, we returned and came to Lahore. At this time the ruler of Sīwistān, Tattah and Sind—which are on the route to Persia—had the temerity and ill fortune to engage in war with the troops who are associated with victory, and the route to 'Irāq and Khurāsan became closed. Hence there has been delay in sending an ambassador. Now, that our holy heart is free from all cares, and that Sīwistān and Tattah have been incorporated in the empire, and that M. Jānī Beg the ruler thereof has appeared at our court and done homage, and that we have read on his forehead the marks of repentance and devotion, we have restored that country to him. The route to 'Irāq has thus become shorter and safer than before, and we have given him his dismissal (to Tattah). We send Zīyā-al-Mulk<sup>1</sup> who is the essence of trustworthiness and devotion, and have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private. He will also ascertain the state of affairs in Persia and report to us. Some rarities of this country have been entrusted to Khwāja Abū Nāṣir. We hope that you will consider this abode of dominion

<sup>1</sup> B. 497, where he is styled "of Kāshān."



as your own house and pursue a line of conduct contrary to that of former times, and will consider the despatch of letters—which are a spiritual conversation—as appertaining to the rules of concord. May God Almighty ever preserve that cream of a chosen family from deceits and wiles and succour him by secret aids !

On 24 Āzar Āṣaf K. arrived in three days from Kashmīr, and reported the revenue of the country to be, according to the settlement of Qāzī ‘Alī, 31 lakhs of *kharwārs*, each of 24 *dāms*. He had pacified the soldiers and the peasantry and distributed the fiefs in a proper manner. On the 26th, ‘Imād-ul-Mulk sent an excellent royal falcon to court. The connoisseurs were much astonished, and H.M. said that in the year in which he conquered Surat such a falcon<sup>1</sup> had been sent to him, and that he had sent it to Muni‘m K. by the hands of Subhān Qulī Turk.

On 1st Dai the “king of poets” S. Abū Faiṣ Faizī presented the poem of Nal Daman, and was much commended. In the thirtieth Divine year that cavalier of the plain of eloquence conceived the idea of making the *khamṣa* (Nizāmī’s Pentad) the arena of his heaven-embracing genius. He composed the Markaz-i-adwār after the model of the Makhzan-i-asrār in 3,000 verses, the Sulaimān and Bilqīs after the model of the Khusrū and Shīrīn, and the Nal Daman—which is one of the old stories of this country—after the model of the Laila and Majnūn. The last two consisted, each, of 4,000 verses. He also composed the Haft Kishwar in 5,000 verses after the style of the Haft Paikar, and arranged the Akbarnāma according to the metre of the Sikandarnāma. In the same style (as Nizāmī ?) he made in verse a catalogue of the glories of the Shāhinshāh. At that period (the 30th year) he commenced the first poem. Inasmuch as genius is attached to the antechamber of intelligence, his soul in no way grew cold, and he continually, by virtue of his inspiration and delightsomeness, produced new work. In a short time he executed the preambles of all five works together with several tales which increased the understanding of the enlightened and

<sup>1</sup> Text توغان. A note explains that a white falcon is so called. It appears from P. de Courteille’s Dict. that the proper spelling is توغن

*Tūighūn*. Apparently the bird was sent from Gujarāt. ‘Imād-al-Mulk was a Gujarati title.



critical. As the foundation of poetry has been placed on fancy and fiction, H.M. pays less regard to it. Still that unique one of the banquet of appreciation on the appearance of a choice poem expressed a wish to discourse about it. He (Faizī) out of proper devotion and auspiciousness withdrew himself from the troop **662** of futile rhymesters. He preserved silence and studied deeply philosophical works. He revered great spirits and exercised himself in praise of the Deity. Though his intimates urged him to build up these five palaces, he did not assent. The whole design of spiritual conquests is to erase the marks of existence; not to adorn the antechamber of renown. At length,<sup>1</sup> in this year, the wise throne-occupant sent for that knower of spiritual and physical mysteries and bade him complete that *Panjnāma* (pentad). He also indicated that he should begin by putting the tale of Nal Daman into the balance of words. In four months, four thousand verses were completed in a variegated and decorated manner.

On the 4th S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī returned from the northern hills, and was exalted by doing homage. On the 6th, Ādat Dās Kashmīrī died. He was singular in that country for his knowledge and rectitude, and by his fortunate star he was admitted to the august society (of Akbar). On the 8th M. Yūsuf K. was made *dārogha* of the Artillery, and Shāh Beg Qandahārī was made the Dīwān of that department. On this day the Mota Rajah arrived from his estate of Jodhpūr and had an audience. At this time—when the vines in Hindustan did not bear—a grape was produced in Hasan Abdāl which was called ox-eye (*dīda-i-gāo*), and Mīr Husain showed it to H.M. Next morning Hāshim Beg came from Kabul and did homage, and was exalted by princely favours. On the 24th, after the passing of 3½ hours, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sultān Selīm by the daughter of ‘Abdullah Bilūc. It is hoped that she may become a source of increased fortune. In the end of this month Sultān Murād, the ruler of Turkey, died. Twelve days afterwards, when his son Sultān Muḥammad was brought out

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 410. In the preface to his translation of Ayeen Akberry Gladwin speaks of a poem by Faizī in six hundred couplets in particular commendation of every

person who held even the smallest office at Court. This poem I have never been able to find. It does not occur in any copy of the Ain that I have seen.



of the fortress, he was buried, and Sultān Muḥammad, from somnolence of understanding and stony-heartedness, put to death his nineteen brothers, the eldest of whom was twenty years old. On hearing of this, H.M. said, "It is very strange that the river of sovereignty has remained full in his house. If some prosperity attends this malicious and selfish man, it apparently must be as a means of retribution for mankind. He who seeks to follow wisdom does not (try to) comprehend the marvels of destiny."

*Verse.*

Faizī, open the ear of the heart and the eye of the mind.  
Dedicate those eyes and ears to the work of the world.  
Behold the wonders of the Age and close your lips.  
Listen to the tale of the epoch and close your eye.

**663** Sultan Malik Shāh Seljūqī took Syria<sup>1</sup> from the Christians<sup>1</sup> and made it over to his connexions and servants. When the dominion of the Seljūq family in 'Irāq and Khurāsān came to an end, the Seljūqs in Turkey somewhat increased in prosperity. The first (of the Seljūqs of Turkey) was Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Qulīj Arslān, then came his son Sultān Raknu-d-dīn, then Sultān Ghīāsu-d-dīn, then 'Azza-u-dīn Kaikāūs, and then Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Kaiqubād. Many reckon 'Azza-u-dīn as the last of this dynasty, others add two other descendants of 'Alau-d-dīn. Seljūq was descended by twenty-four generations from Afrāsiyāb. He had four sons: Michael, Israil,<sup>2</sup> Mūsā, and Yūnas. In 375 A.H., 985-86 A.D., they came from the defiles of Turkistan to Transoxiana, and from there to Khurāsān. Then the sons of Michael,

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viz. Toghril and J'aafir Beg, became great. Their dynasty ended after 117<sup>1</sup> years. Then the prosperity of the Qarāmān Bēgs (of Carmania) began. This too came to an end after 173 years in the time of Ibrāhīm Beg. The Oṣmān (Ottoman) dynasty began in 688 A.H., and the Oṣmān year and month are counted from him (?). It is said he was born in 648.<sup>2</sup> Various accounts are given of his success. He reigned 37 or 39 years. In some ancient histories he is said to be descended from Aghuz K. (His genealogy is) Oṣmān s. Toghril s. Sulaimān, s. Qiyālat, s. Qazil Būqā, s. Payindar, s. Ajūl Ṣafī Āqā, s. Tughān, s. Qandasūn, s. Māitwaqūn, s. Bāqī Āqā, s. Sūncaq Āqā, s. Bakhtumūr, s. Būsāqī, s. Lak 'Alī (Kok Alp K.), s. Aghuz, s. Qarā K. They say that Oṣmān's grandfather Sulaimān Shāh possessed the city of Mahān (in Khurāsān). When the Moghuls disturbed the world, he proceeded with his family to Rūmistān. On account of difference of religion, he attacked and plundered the country. He fought battles at Amāsia,<sup>3</sup> and from there went on towards Aleppo. He lost his life in crossing the Euphrates. Ūr Khān (Orkhān) his (Oṣmān's) son succeeded him, and died after administering justice for 55 or 32 years. His son Ghāzī Murād succeeded him, and conquered numerous territories. He became known as Murād K. With him began the practice of taking one-fifth of the captives<sup>4</sup> as the share of government. He also instituted the corps of the janissaries.<sup>5</sup> While he was hunting, Christian troops arrived and he fought bravely with them and was victorious. Suddenly some men in ambush came out of a cave and killed him. He died after 47 or 32 years of rule. He was succeeded by his son Īldarim Bāyazīd. He conquered Persia and Qirmān and attained high dignity. The accumulation of treasure, the keeping of accounts, and the drinking of wine in this country became current from him. He **664** fought a battle with Ṣāhib Qarānī (Timur) near Angora and was

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made prisoner. For 14 or 16 years he was successful. He had six sons. Mustāfa Calabī was missing after that battle. Sulaiman, who was called Calabī, took some country. He sent presents to the court of Sāhib Qarānī, and was submissive. Some land was left to him. Mūsā, who was an attendant on the stirrup, obtained some of the land of Rūm. The brothers fought with one another. One day Sulaimān was drinking wine in his hot bath. Mūsā attacked him. He came out alone and took shelter in a village, and the villagers killed him. He reigned 7 years. Mūsā became sole ruler and indulged in arrogance. From excessive suspiciousness and deficiency of wisdom he degraded the great, and raised up the slaves of gold. Sultān Muḥammad his brother rose up to contend with him and there were several battles. While he was flying, his horse stuck in the mud and the lamp of his life was extinguished.<sup>1</sup> He reigned either six or three years. Sultān Muḥammad upreared the banners of sovereignty. One Mustāfa claimed to be a prophet. The Sultān fought with him and killed him. He reigned for 5 or for 2 years. When the pains of death came upon him, he summoned his son Sultān Murād from Roumelia, but died before he arrived. He arrived after forty days. They proclaimed his (S. Muḥammad's) death and committed the body to the earth. Some soldiers rebelled. An obscure man claimed to be Mustāfa Calabī the son of Īldarim Bāyazīd, and many believed on him. He took the country of Roumelia, and made an expedition against Anatolia.<sup>2</sup> The Sultān by the advice of some persons went to a saint, who was called Amīr J'aafirī,<sup>3</sup> and who lived a prayerful life in the city of Bursā (Brusa) which is the cemetery of the rulers of Turkey. The dervish inspired him, and in a short while the sedition-monger was seized and put to death. In the heat of success his heart grew cold to the world and he went into retirement, making his son Sultān Muḥammad his representative. He could not manage properly, and the violence of the Franks<sup>4</sup> somewhat disturbed the country. By entreaties, the leaders of the army induced that hermit to adorn again the throne. He quelled the disturbance and again retired into solitude. He left the administration to

<sup>1</sup> See D'Herbelot for accounts of Sulaimān, Musā and Muḥammad.

<sup>2</sup> Text Ābādanī.

<sup>3</sup> I.O. MS. 236 has Jafiratī, which is also given as a variant.

<sup>4</sup> See Errata where *karda* is changed to *giroh*.



the same son. After some time the janissaries became unmanageable and conspired to kill Khādim Pāsha the chief councillor. He fled and took shelter in the Sultān's place of retirement. By endurance of burdens, planning and increase of pay, the mutiny was quelled. Able men by much supplication again brought the hermit to the palace, and victories showed their countenance. The whole time of 665 his rule was 27 or 30 years. When he went to the privy-chamber of non-existence, Sultān Muḥammad, after sixteen days, sate on the throne. Fortune rose up to do him homage. Apparently it was by her order that the tiara of rule did not show its glory during the lifetime of his father. He took Constantinople, which is famous as Istambūl, and made it the capital and chose it for his place of burial. He reigned for 31 years. On his death, his son Sultān Bāyazīd put the imperial crown on his head. The Egyptians prevailed against him, and some unfaithful soldiers joined his son Sultān Selīm. That turbulent one contended with his visible god (i.e. his father). And by the jugglery of the heavens he was victorious. He ended his (father's) life by poison<sup>1</sup> and acquired eternal abhorrence. Bāyazīd reigned thirty years. Afterwards the parricide obtained the sovereignty and fought a battle with Shāh Ismāīl Ṣ'afavī in the plain of Khāldārān between Dīārbikr and Azarbaijān. He defeated him and proceeded to attack the Egyptians. Sultān Qānṣūī (Qānsūh Ghūrī) the ruler of that country was killed, and the dynasty of the Circassians came to an end.<sup>2</sup> Malik Ṣāliḥ, who was the last prince of the Ayūb family, died at Cairo in 648. His clan and his slaves raised his mother<sup>3</sup> to the power, and 'Izzau-d-dīn who belonged to the family was made commander-in-chief. When some time elapsed base and mercenary people raised 'Izzau-d-dīn to the sovereignty, and he is the first of the Circassian dynasty. From that time the power in Egypt and Syria fell into the hands of low slaves (the Mamlūks). The dominion of the Banī<sup>4</sup> 'Abbās—which was only nominal—also

<sup>1</sup> D'Herbelot says s. v. Selīm Khān that it is only the Christians who charge Selīm with parricide.

<sup>2</sup> This was in 922 (1516). After this A.F. turns backward and gives the history of the Circassian or Mamlūk princes.

<sup>3</sup> This is Shajar-al-durr, but she was Ṣāliḥ's widow, not his mother. The text has 348 but the variant 648 is right.

<sup>4</sup> The 'Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt. They had only spiritual authority.



came to an end. He (Selīm) reigned for ten or for seven<sup>1</sup> years and was succeeded by his son Sultān Sulaimān. Shāh Ism‘aīl sent choice presents and condolences and congratulations. He (Sulaiman) wrote “reply unnecessary<sup>2</sup>” and put his seal on the front of the letter (of Ism‘aīl) and made Ism‘aīl exceeding sorrowful. Sulaimān took Cyprus<sup>3</sup> and many countries from the Christians. He reigned for 48 years. Then his son Sultān Selīm (II) succeeded him. His brother Sultān Bāyazīd took shelter with his four sons with Shāh Tahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and lost his life. Sultān Selīm reigned seven or sixteen<sup>4</sup> years, and was succeeded by his son Sultān Murād. Though his empire became extensive the janissaries prevailed over him. They took the grand Vizier (buzurg dastūr) Muḥammad Pāshā (Sokolli) forcibly out of the palace and put him to a shameful death. He reigned for 25 years. In order to water my discourse I have gone somewhat out of my way to speak of this dynasty, and have provided a collyrium for the eyes. I return to the narrative of eternal dominion, which is my objective.

**666** On 9 Bahman M. Yūsuf K. obtained leave to go to Jaunpūr in order that he might bring it into some degree of order and then return. On the 15th Shīdā Beg died. He was *taḥwīldār* of the Wardrobe.

<sup>1</sup> For 8 years 8 months according to D’Herbelot.

<sup>2</sup> *Beniyāzāna pāsakh nigāshṭa muhur barū kard.* I think that *beniyāzāna pāsakh* must be what Sulaiman wrote on the envelope. The text has *barū* “on it,” but I.O. MS. 236, B.M. MS. 27,247 and the Cawnpore ed. have *bar rū* “on the face.” Perhaps the sting of this consisted in his not opening the letter and merely putting his seal on the face of it. But from Dorn’s Hist. of the Afghans, p. 124, it appears that to put a seal on a letter was an affront, at least if the person doing so was of inferior rank. The following passage occurs there. “In short the governors of Mālwa, obeying Sher K.’s commands, sent letters of allegiance and loyalty,

with the only exception of Melloo K. who, from excessive folly and a wish to show his royal dignity, impressed his signet upon the letter, and notwithstanding the entreaties his well-wishers made to dissuade him, sent it off so. Sher K. on beholding the letter tore off the seal and preserved it, observing that the punishment for the impertinence would one day overtake him.” Naturally, Sulaiman would despise Ism‘aīl as a Shīa, and it is rather strange that the latter should have gone out of his way to express grief at the death of Selīm his conqueror.

<sup>3</sup> Text *فارس* Persia.

<sup>4</sup> So in text and in I.O. MS. 236, but 16 is probably a mistake for 8.



From self-indulgence and drinking he seldom appeared on parade (*ba kashk*). H.M. became angry and on one occasion had him stripped and soused<sup>1</sup> with cold water. He died of the cold. It appeared that he had laid presumptuous hands on the private dresses. H.M. said, "God has punished him with nakedness for having donned stolen garments." At this time a supplicatory letter came from Khān Aḥmad Gīlānī. On account of long prosperity, the strength of his country, and bad company, he had been insolent to Shāh Tahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and had been sent to the school of the prison. Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda released him, and sent him back to the government of Gīlān. Envious tale-bearers incited Shāh 'Abbās against him. Out of ill-fatedness he set himself to fight (with 'Abbās). He was defeated and took refuge in Turkey. He was not appreciated there and not treated with favour. On the 23rd his envoy had an audience and presented a petition. It stated that he had long desired to have recourse to the sublime court, but could not accomplish his desire on account of the distance and the insecurity. At present he was passing his time in distress in Baghdad, and his old desire was occupying the skirt of his heart. The envoy was favourably received and made hopeful of royal favours. On 1 Isfandārmaz, after ten hours, a daughter<sup>2</sup> was born to Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Qulīj K. It is hoped that her advent may increase prosperity.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Sīwī (Sibi).<sup>3</sup> It is a strong fort near Qandahār, and in old times was held by the ruler of Bhakkar. For a long time the Afghans had held it. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn Bokhārī the fiefholder of Ūc, and Bakhtiyār Beg the fiefholder of Sīwistān, and Mīr Abū-l-Qāsim Tamkīn the *jāgīrdār* of Bhakkar, and Mīr M'aṣūm and other soldiers of the province of Multan, received orders to proceed thither and to make advice the material of conquest. If they did not listen, they were to be punished. On 23 Dai they went out with this intention. The zamīndārs of

<sup>1</sup> This was in the month of Bahman which corresponds to January.

<sup>2</sup> Būlāqī Begam A.N. III. 837. Afterwards married to M. Walī. Tūzūk, J. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> In Baluchistan. The district is

now British. See I. G. XXII. 336. The town is S.E. Quettah and on the Sind-Pishīn railway. See J. II. 328 n. and B. 362, and Elliot I. 237. It is a long way from Qandahar.



Ganjāba<sup>1</sup> and the other chiefs there—such as Daryā K. and Dāūd—submitted. On 3 Isfandārmaz they arrived at the fort. 5,000 men came out to fight, and after a short engagement they were defeated and retired into the fort. After investing it and preparing to take it, the garrison came to terms and gave up the keys. By this victory the country up to Qandahār, Kac<sup>2</sup> and Mokrān was included in the empire. The soldiers were distressed in that desert<sup>3</sup> from want of water. They made the world's lord the Divine instrument of worship and prayed for water. By the Divine favour in a short space of time, the dry bed of a turrent became full of water, and there came occasion for thanksgiving.

**667** On the 27th<sup>4</sup> the festival of the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and the world sate down in the light of success.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot I. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Text Kīc. Cf. J. II. 336. It is Cutch.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. II. 328 where it is said that there is a vast desert between Sīwī and Bhakkar.

<sup>4</sup> The solar month was Isfandar-

maz, the last of the solar year. The birthday was on 5 Rajab, and in this year, 1003, Rajab began on 2 March. The last clause of the sentence refers, apparently, to the charities that were bestowed on the anniversary.



## CHAPTER CXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 40TH YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR TĪR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Tuesday, 9 Rajab 1003, after 3 hours, 33 minutes, the world-lighting sun illuminated the sign of Aries, and the fourth year of the fourth cycle conveyed the news of eternal dominion. The world's Commander returned fresh thanks to God, and adorned nineteen days with varied celebrations. The dejected of heart became exhilarated, the savage became sociable.

*Verse.*

Allah Akbar! What eternal bliss is this!

Allah Akbar! What a lamp of truth is this!

No particle do I see void of light.

Allah Akbar! What sunlight is this!

On 5 Farwardīn, Husain Beg S. 'Umrī came with some men from the northern mountains, and brought with him Rāja Bāsū and some zamīndārs. Each received suitable favours. At this time the conquest of Busnah took place. It is a strong fort, and a populous country is connected with it. When Rāja Mān Singh came to Tānda, the capital of Bengal, he sent off troops in all directions. One body was sent under the command of Himmat Singh (the Rāja's son) to that quarter. On the 19th it prevailed, and a faction was chastised. When the world's lord had performed the thanksgivings of the New Year, he crossed the Rāvī and went to the Dilāmez garden, which had lately been made. From there he went with some ladies in retirement to Rāmbārī. Night and day he gathered the flowers of joy, and at the same time his enlightenment increased.

One of the occurrences was the death of Burhān Nizām-ul-Mulk. Whoever neglects goodness and practises ingratitude, soon, by his own efforts, reaps his retribution. Fresh evidence of this is afforded by the story of this base one. The royal favours he received, his



coming to power, his ingratitude, and his non-acceptance of counsels, and the appointment of an army against him, have been described. On account of the distance and of slackness in making preparations, the army had not been gathered together when he died. He delighted in obstinacy, and flattery made him arrogant. He stretched out  
**668** his hands against men's property and lives, and destroyed the honour of families. He made no distinction between friend and foe, relative and stranger. He raised an army to attack Ādil K. and returned unsuccessful. Thinking that he would take the fort of Rewadanda,<sup>1</sup> which adjoins Caul, from the Christians, he sent Farhād K. and Asad K. Rūmī with a large force to that quarter, and then lasciviously defiled Farhād K.'s wife. Farhād felt ashamed and made terms with the Christians. Many Deccanis lost their lives, and Asad K. was made prisoner. In order to increase his virility Burhān used mercurial<sup>2</sup> medicines, and made himself ill by listening to quacks, so that he became hopeless of life. He brought his son Ibrāhīm Beg

<sup>1</sup> I.G. X. 184 and XXI. 273. Rewadanda is also called Lower Caul. The two towns are in the Kolaba district and about 30 m. S. Bombay. There is an account of Burhān's attack on Rewadanda in Noer's Akbar II. p. 309 of translation. The siege began in April 1594.

<sup>2</sup> *Shangarf*, Cinnabar. The *Iqbāl-nāma* has *sīmāb kushta*, ashes of quicksilver. For *kushta*, quicksilver, see B. 563, n. 1.

The story about Farhād's wife does not appear to be correct. Danvers in his "The Portuguese in India," II. 90, says that Farhād and his wife and daughter were captured at Chaul in 1592 (should be 1594), and that the wife was ransomed, while Farhād and his daughter became Catholics and went to Portugal. Faria Y. Sousa, however, says that Farhād died of his wounds after he had been baptized and showed signs

of conversion, and that only the daughter went to Portugal (III. Part I, c. 8). *Ferishta* says nothing about Farhād's wife's having been outraged, though he says that Burhān ordered every beautiful woman to be brought to his palace. Among others, he sent for Shujā'at's wife, but dismissed her unharmed. However her husband was so affected by the disgrace that he committed suicide. He also says that Burhān's licentiousness made his officers reluctant to serve him, and so led to the triumph of the Portuguese. (Newal Kishore's ed., 3rd vol., p. 155). The Portuguese victory occurred on 16 Zī-l-hajja 1002 (September 1594). Akbar seems to have been highly pleased at the defeat of Burhān and expressed to Xavier his admiration of the feat of the Portuguese in taking the Morro at Chaul (J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 109).



out of prison, and made him his successor. Ikh̄lās K. Abyssinian and some others did not agree to this and endeavoured to raise up Ism'āil, another son, and who had formerly ruled. When he had recovered somewhat, he got into a litter and set out to fight. Three *kos* from Aḥmadnagar he fought and was victorious.<sup>1</sup> The strife-mongers had to go into retirement. This success made him more mad, and increased his arrogance. When he returned, he used more medicine, and increased his illness. On the 25th<sup>2</sup> (Farwardīn) he died. Many said that his sister Cānd Bībī poisoned him. The acute beheld in it the retribution of his ingratitude. The army-leaders raised Ibrāhīm to power, and he from shortsightedness first blinded his brother and afterwards put him to death.

<sup>1</sup> The battle was fought near Hu-māyūnpūr, which was a place founded by Burhān's mother.

<sup>2</sup> 5 or 6 April, 1595. According to Ferishta, Burhān died on 13 Shābān 1003 = 18 April 1595: A. F.'s account of Burhān may be compared with the more detailed one by Ferishta. Ferishta says nothing about the alleged poisoning by Cānd Bībī.

Badayūnī, Lowe, 416, also speaks of reports that Burhān was put to death. According to Ferishta Burhān died at Aḥmadnagar in consequence of fatigues of his campaign against Ikh̄lās K. According to Ferishta it was Burhān and not Ibrāhīm who put Ism'āil to death. Burhān did this partly because Ism'āil belonged to the Mahdī religion.



## CHAPTER CXXII.

ARRIVAL OF THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS AT QANDAHAR, AND THE TRAN-  
QUILLISATION OF THAT COUNTRY.

When Qarā Beg and M. Beg—who had gone to bring Mozaffar Husain M.—approached, the Mīrzā received them and rejoiced over the royal order. He expressed submissiveness and showed a desire to proceed towards the court from there. As Shāh Beg K. had not arrived, he turned back at the instance<sup>1</sup> of the above-named persons, and for a time had other thoughts, in consequence of the foolish talk of wicked persons. Owing to his auspicious disposition he looked deeply into the matter and frankly surrendered the fort and came out. On the 28th, silver and gold were illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's stamp, and the pulpits were exalted by his honoured name. Shāh Beg K. encouraged the Mīrzā in various ways and sent him off with his family and 2,000<sup>2</sup> Qizilbāshes. A populous country **669** came into possession without a battle, and a noble family was delivered from confusion. The Uzbegs turned aside their rein from that country for a while, and the peasantry had some repose. The tribes of the Hazāra and Afghans and other presumptuous landholders received chastisement. At this time the great office of Vakīl was conferred on the Khān Ā'azam M. Koka. As ability and disinterestedness were seen in his forehead, he was, on 9 Ardibihisht, exalted by that great favour. Though the talents of the world's lord needed no help, and he accomplished everything by his own wide capacity, yet he, from wisdom and a knowledge of the world, entrusted business to an able officer. The thread of watchfulness was thereby doubled.

On the 19th<sup>3</sup> (Ardibihisht) a large caravan laden with choice

<sup>1</sup> Apparently they suggested his return, as owing to the non-arrival of Shāh Beg things were not ripe for his departure. See the Maasir. III. 299-300.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers and the Iqbāl-nāma have 1,000.

<sup>3</sup> Or 29th April, 1595. The Pādris were Jerome Xavier, Benedict of Goes, and Emmanuel Pinheiro, and



goods arrived from the port of Goa. In it were several learned Christian ascetics—known by the name of “Padre.” By the favours of the Shāhinshāh their heart-desires were gratified.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Zamīn Dāwar and the country of Garmsīr (the hot country). These two populous tracts belong to Qandahar. The Uzbegs had taken them from the Mīrzās. When the report of the approach of the victorious troops became current, the headmen of those places gathered together and were victorious. The Uzbegs retired after failure. At this time Sultān Muḥammad Oghlān, Tengrī Bardī, Murād K., and some others (of the Uzbegs) rose up to take revenge, and surrounded the fort. When Shāh Beg K. came, the inhabitants begged for redress. He was doubtful about helping them in the absence of orders. By good fortune some of that crew extended the hand of plunder to near Qandahar, and M. ‘Iwaz took by force the fortress of Terī.<sup>1</sup> When he would not listen to advice, Shāh Beg K. proceeded to give him battle. He (M. ‘Iwaz) made Terī strong and came out to fight and was soon made prisoner. The fort was taken. Then Shāh Beg crossed the Helmand and attacked Zamīn Dāwar. The enemy was disconcerted and hastened to the fort of Darghor<sup>2</sup> (?). When they were pursued, they fled without fighting towards Herat. The victorious troops returned and came to Zamīn Dāwar, and Garmsīr was also, without a contest, included in the empire. The Tūrānī soldiers had their eyes opened somewhat, and Qul Bābā, the Commander-in-chief of Khurāsān, became anxious about protecting it. Out of foresight he behaved in a friendly manner to the troops. On 28 Tīr the news came, and every one was rewarded in a suitable manner. On the 30th (Tīr), 10th July, 1595, the Mota<sup>3</sup> Rajah died from inability

the date given for their arrival in Lahore is stated by Maclagan, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 68, as 5th May, 1595. I presume that the difference between 29th April and 5th May is due to the missionaries using the Gregorian calendar. Jerome Xavier was the nephew of St. Francis Xavier.

<sup>1</sup> Text Hari, i.e. Herat, but immediately afterwards Tīrī is mentioned,

and this is the reading in I.O. MS. 276. It is the Tarīn of J. II. 398 and the Terī of the I. G. XXIII. 281. It is in the Kohāt district.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps dar ghor, i.e. in Ghor. The Iqbāl-nāma has “the fort of Ghor.” B.M. MS. 27,247 has “from the fort hastened into Ghor,” and this is probably right.

<sup>3</sup> The Mota, i.e. the fat Rajah, is



to breathe (*nafas tangī*), and four wives freely gave their bodies to the flames. H.M. went there by water to teach<sup>1</sup> the truth, and led some to fortitude by showing the unimportance of life.

One of the occurrences was the death of Ibrāhīm Nizām-ul-  
**670** Mulk. From the time that H.M. turned away the eye of favour from the Deccan, fresh evils occurred from time to time in that country, and retribution for ingratitude occurred. When Burhān died, and Ibrāhīm succeeded him, improprieties increased. An army came from Bijāpūr to punish him. On 16 Amardād, 40 *kos* from Ahmednagar, there was a battle, and suddenly an arrow reached<sup>2</sup> Ibrāhīm, and he was killed.

The Bijāpūrians returned successful, and the Nizām-al-Mulkians came home in a bewildered state. Many made Aḥmad the son<sup>3</sup> of Khudābanda their chief, and some chose Moti,<sup>4</sup> the son of Qāsim. Burhan Nizām-al-Mulk, the 1st, had six sons, Qāsim, ‘Abdu l-Qādir, Ḥusain, Khudābānda, Shāh ‘Alī, Muḥammad Bāqir. When he died, the succession fell to Ḥusain,<sup>5</sup> and when the latter died his eldest son Martaza became Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Udai Singh s. Rai Māldeo of Jodhpūr. B. 429. Apparently his corpulence caused his death. Tod has an extraordinary story about his having died in consequence of a Brahman's curse. Apparently he died in or near Lahore. His daughter was the mother of Shāh Jahān. The last clause is obscure, but I think that the meaning is that Akbar was present at the *satīs* or arrived shortly afterwards and took the opportunity to encourage his followers to despise death by showing how little value the widows put upon their lives. Compare his remark, J. III. 398. "The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price."

<sup>1</sup> *Baḥaqqatāmōzī*. Perhaps the meaning is to learn the truth.

<sup>2</sup> The Lucknow Ferishta says he was killed by a spear. But a MS. says it was an arrow that killed him. He met his death on 20 Zī-l-ḥajja 1003, or 16th August, 1595.

<sup>3</sup> The alleged son. Apparently he was really the son of Shāh Tāhir. See Ferishta's account of the Aḥmadnagar dynasty. Aḥmad was made king on 10 Zī-l-ḥajji 1003, 6th August, 1595, but was soon deposed in favour of Bahādur, the infant son of Ibrāhīm. Mīyān Manjū however supported him for a time and called in Prince Murād to help him.

<sup>4</sup> Mūsā in text, but Motī in I.O. MS. 236 and in B.M. 27,247.

<sup>5</sup> Text *naḥastin* "the first," but the true reading is "Ḥusain" as in the I.O. MSS. Aḥmad said to be the son of Khudābanda was apparently



On the 31st, twelve dīwāns were appointed. Though the vizier-ship was prosperously conducted by the truthfulness and industry of Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Khāfī, yet on account of excess of business and of farsightedness, a vizier was appointed to every province, and former wishes became fact. Husain Beg was appointed to Allahabad, Bhārtī Cand to Ajmere, Rai Rām Dās to Aḥmadābād, Kahnūr to Oudh, Kishn Dās to Bengal, Rām Dās to Bihar, Rām Rai to Delhi, Khwāja Ghīāṣ Beg to Kabul, Mathurā Dās to Lahore, Khwāja Muḥibb 'Alī to Mālwa, Kēsū Das to Agra, Khwāja Muqīm to Multan. An order was given that every one should report his proceedings to H.M. in accordance with the advice of the Khwāja.

One of the occurrences was the victory of Bajranath.<sup>1</sup> At the royal feast he wrestled with Balbhadṛ—who was at the head of the wrestlers (*Mals*). The spectators were astonished to see that H.M. had commanded that slenderly-made man to contend with that powerful frame. In a short time by dint of courage it appeared that that strong one would be thrown. In order to preserve his reputation, they were separated as being equal.

At this time it became known that some persons exacted tolls at the ferries. H.M.'s justice was moved, and an order was issued everywhere that every exertion should be made to punish such conduct. From Lahore to the Hindu Koh this work was entrusted to Zain K. Kokaltāsh; from Lahore to Lower Bengal to Daulat K.; from Lahore to Gujarat to Rām Dās Kachwāha, to Zamīn Dāwar, to Daulat Khurd; and from Delhi to Oudh, to Mīyān Khānū.

the son of one Tāhir who claimed falsely to be Khudābanda's son. Aḥmad reigned for a short time, and then was succeeded by Ibrahim's son Bahādur. The history of Aḥmad-nagar at this time may be studied

in the 2nd volume of Noer's Akbar, Mrs. Beveridge's translation.

<sup>1</sup> B. 253, where both Bajranāth and Balbhadṛ are mentioned. It is there said that the *Mals* came from Gujrat.



## CHAPTER CXXIII.

MOZAFFAR HUSAIN M. GLORIFIES HIS FOREHEAD BY PROSTRATING  
HIMSELF AT THE HOLY THRESHOLD.

Whoever is exalted by fortune and whose star raises him from a humble position, enjoys prosperity, and has happy days without  
**671** exertion. The condition of the Mīrzā<sup>1</sup> is an instance of this, and is a collyrium for the eyes. Out of dissatisfaction with the ruler of Persia, and from fear of his life, he did not submit to the Shāh, and from the turbulence of youth and bad companionship he did not attach himself to the sublime Court. Suddenly the Uzbegs prevailed over Khurāsān, and the position of the Mīrzās became difficult. They were disconcerted by the appointment of the victorious army. Owing to his happy star, Rustum M. bound himself to eternal dominion, and this increased the distracted condition of Mozaffar. By the guidance of his star he sent his mother and his eldest son to make his excuses. They were kindly received and a comforting order was sent to him. He emerged from his disturbed state, and prepared to do service. When Shāh Beg K. arrived he made over the country and set out. The officers and guardians of the passes showed, under H.M. orders, great respect to this nobly born one. Every week, one of the courtiers arrived with choice goods. When he was three stages off, M. Jāni Beg, S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Husain Beg S. 'Umri and others were sent off (to him). When he was three *kos* away, Khān A'zam, the M. Koka, Zain K. Kokaltāsh and many others (met him). On 5 Shahriyūr the Mīrzā glorified his forehead by performing the prostration, and the rank of his auspiciousness was exalted. He presented one hundred 'Irāq horses and other things. Among them was a wonderful shell<sup>2</sup> which when rubbed on a snake-bite sucked out the poison, and caused a recovery. The

<sup>1</sup> B. 313.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahra*. Perhaps here it only means an antidote.



Mīrzā was made a Panjhazārī, and Sarkār Sambal,<sup>1</sup> which is larger than Qandahar, was given to him as a fief. He was made happy by much money and many goods. His four sons, Bahrām M., Haidar M., Alqās M., Tahmāsp<sup>2</sup> M., and his companions, received great presents.

In this year the officers (*mansabdārān*) were divided into three classes: 1st, those who had horsemen equal in number to their office; 2nd, those who had half and upwards; 3rd, those who had less. The pay of each was fixed<sup>3</sup> (accordingly?). An account of this is in the last volume (the *Āīn*). On this day Tāsh Beg. K. was sent off to chastise the 'Isā Khel, but as he fell ill, he could not accomplish the work properly. On the 6th a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince Royal by the daughter of Ibrāhīm Husain M. It is hoped that she may become a great lady of the Age. On the 9th S'aīd K. came from the Eastern districts, and received varied favours. He had long cherished the desire to come, and when he reached Bihar, he proceeded very rapidly. He presented 100 elephants and other articles. On the 11th<sup>4</sup> Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk died in Hindia. The appreciative sovereign begged forgiveness for him, and bestowed favours on his children. He was one of the good men of this world. He exerted himself very much in helping men. On the 16th S'aīd K. presented the *peshkash* of 'Isā K. the landholder of Bhātī. It was accepted. In the beginning of Mihr, food was sent to Qandahar. There was somewhat of a scarcity in that country and the soldiers were in distress. Able men sent every kind of grain from Multan, several times, and soon there was plenty. Qul Bābā the C. in C. of Khurāsān became very anxious and strengthened his friendship with the officers in that quarter. On this day Bāqir<sup>5</sup> K. Safarcī died in Bengal. H M. freed his children from

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 416, says, Sambhal was taken away from A. F. and given to the Mīrzā.

<sup>2</sup> The Maasir and I.O. 236 have Tahmās.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. B. 238, l. 6, and also the Table, p. 248. At p. 241 B. remarks, "The three classes differ very slightly (in emoluments), and cannot refer to p. 238, l. 7. Here, I think, he for-

gets that the salaries were monthly. A difference of Rs. 1,000 a month is considerable, especially when we remember that the contingent of the 2nd class was one half and *upwards*. See Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 417.

<sup>5</sup> He is called Bāqī K. in B. 408 and 534. He was s. Tāhir K. Mīr



grief by his kindness. At this time a different scale (*barāward*<sup>1</sup>) of pay (estimate) was made. On 11 Mihr an order was passed that Moghuls, Afghans and Indians who had three horses should get 1,000 *dāms*, those who had two horses 800, and those who had one horse, 600 *dāms*. Rājput̃s of the first class got 800, and those of the middle class 600.

One of the occurrences was the illumination of the jewel of Truth. One of the foolish talkers brought a charge of impropriety against a chaste personality (a woman?). H.M.<sup>2</sup> sate to inquire into the matter. He said, "I have heard from persons of understanding<sup>3</sup> that when an inquiry was made and the facts could not be ascertained, recourse was had to the ordeal of fire.<sup>4</sup> The truth came out, the accuser was put to shame, and a world was astonished." One of the Hindu ordeals is this: They heat a piece of iron in the fire and then placing leaves of the *pīpal* (*ficus indica*) on the hand (of the accused) they put the burning metal on the top thereof. If no burning takes place, they accept the statement (of the accused) as true. On this occasion the accused did not employ any leaves, but took a piece of fire in the (her?) hand, held it for a time and then slowly put it down.<sup>5</sup> No harm ensued (to the accused) though

Farāghat who again was s. Mīr Khurd the guardian of Hindāl. See Gulbadan Begam trans. 106 and n.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *barāward* has a technical meaning. A. F. says, B. 231, that poor troopers who have not their horses branded are called Barāwardī. The rates there are Rs. 25, 20 and 15, corresponding to 1000, 800, 600 *dāms*. It is curious that the three horsemen get only 200 more *dāms* than the two horse troopers. Also that a distinction should be made between Hindi or Indian horsemen and Rājput̃s. I.O. MS. 236 has Sindī for Hindī.

<sup>2</sup> Dād Khudā "The gift of God." One of A. F.'s names for Akbar. See below, p. 698, line 5.

<sup>3</sup> The text has *beṭār* "a farrier." This is obviously wrong, but the right reading is not clear. Most MSS. have *dark nazzāra* "spectators of intelligence," and this I have adopted. But perhaps the true reading is *behār* the Hindi form of *vyavahara* "the administration of justice," which is the heading of a chapter in the *Āīn*. See J. III. 261.

<sup>4</sup> The word is *saugand* "an oath." Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 368.

<sup>5</sup> Text has the word *andākht* "threw," but most MSS. have *farūd award* "brought down," and this seems more appropriate as it agrees with the word "slowly."



the ground was burnt by the heat of the thing. The truth-seeking of the ruler of the age produced these wonderful results !

On the 16th the sacred seal was made over to the Khān A'zam and his dignity received a fresh increase. Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad, at the orders of H.M., engraved the names of H.M.'s ancestors up to the time of Sāhib Qirānī and produced a masterpiece. An order was given that all the confirmatory <sup>1</sup> *sanads* and some of the secret orders (*bayāzī manshūr*) should bear this adornment.

On this day the envoy of the Viceroy <sup>2</sup> of Ormuz had the bliss of kissing the threshold. He brought two ostriches very remarkable in their shape and behaviour. They treated pieces of stone as if they were fruits. All forms of existence are full of wonderment, but much seeing has put many men to sleep, and they marvel at nothing except what they see rarely.

One of the occurrences was that the veil fell from off the face of the condition of the writer of the book of fortune. After divers fallings and risings, and after traversing many heights and hollows, the idea of "Peace with All" came to me and for a while I was rooted in contentment. I perceived that there was somewhat of the glory of being in every form of creation, and so I breathed the breath of Love. I thought for a while that the calm spot of resignation was my abode and was in a state of wishlessness ! Suddenly, *the basin tumbled from the roof* (a proverb),<sup>3</sup> and cruelty and sorrow were impressed on the hearts of high and low !

*Verse.*

I made 2,000 vows that I'd not go crazy.

For you my vows were shattered, for you my resolve failed !

<sup>1</sup> *Sabtī asnād* = *firmān-i-sabtī*, for which see B. 260. They were issued for three purposes. *Biyāzī manshūr* = *farmān-i-biyāzī*, i.e. "Blank orders," for which see B. 264. They were called *biyāzī* or blank, because they were folded and sealed in such a manner that their contents could not be seen.

<sup>2</sup> The text, and all the MSS. apparently, have *wazīr*, "vizier." But the word should probably be وزیر

*wazrī* representing the Portuguese *viserei* "Viceroy." See A. N. translation I. 323. It is the Portuguese Viceroy of Ormuz who is meant, and he must have procured the ostriches from Africa. As Tatta and Sind were in Akbar's possession, the Portuguese would be anxious to conciliate him.

<sup>3</sup> The conjunction is wanting in the MSS.



On 21 Mihr,<sup>1</sup> Saturday, 10 Šafr 1004 (5 October 1595), the order came to the king of Poets, Sh. Faizī, my elder brother, and that free-souled and enlightened one on receipt of the call for the last journey proceeded with open brow to the holy city!

*Verse.*

A Joseph was lost to his brethren.

Nay, not to us, but to the whole world was he lost.

In Love's game our hands are empty,

He who has departed held the ring.<sup>2</sup>

The venerable and eloquent sate in sorrow, and crowds and crowds of men were grieved. The heart of the appreciative King was contracted because a veil had covered the seeker after wisdom, the maker of eulogies, and because the cup of the life of the chief guest at the banquet of loyalty had overflowed. The noble princes sate in sorrow because the wise-hearted teacher, and the imparter of wisdom and eloquence, had become silent. The great officers' nosegay of joy withered because the loving cup of the chief of the confidant of the banquet and the battle had become full. The spirits of those immersed in business were broken because the solver of the difficulties of the age had died. The travellers in the desert of exile were pained in their hearts and had a lump in their throats because the adorer of the stage of comfort had withdrawn his heart from mankind. Those who traversed the world of search sate with sad hearts and erased from their minds the thought of travel, because the fountain of the life of the eloquent exponent of truth had been choked. The thorns of failure increased in the feet of the empty-handed and the necessitous, because the unsolicited wish-granter had withdrawn from the world of society. Every section had its special lament, and drank the new and intoxicating wine of affliction. The tale of this stroke of lightning does not come within the mould of language. One cannot write with a wooden-legged pen. When such were the feelings of mere contemporaries, who can understand the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 420.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to a game which consists in hiding a ring in the hand of one of the players. See Vullers,

s. v. *kacha*; and also Bahār-i-'Ajam. The text has *kujja*, a hockey-stick. This does not agree with the MSS. and seems wrong.



sorrow of me who loved him, body and soul? How can my mental agitation and my bodily benumbment be described? I who am of sewn-up lips, wept like a child, and a tempest of lamentation arose. Patience, wisdom's first-born, expired in weeping, and that light-giver sate in a day of darkness! Blind feelings became dominant and light-headed fancies prevailed. I regarded his leaving the house of bones as death, and his choice of life eternal as annihilation! Life became a heart-calamity and a burden to the soul. Sleep and sustenance (*khwāb u khūr*) took the path of estrangement. My elemental ties were nearly being loosed, and I was nearly casting the burden of life from off my shoulder. Sometimes I strove, like a crazy person, with heaven, and sometimes I opened my lips to abuse Fate. The material removal of a brother wrought this effect on me, and the separation in **674** spirit from a beloved solver of entanglements made me mad. Except him, this privacy-admirer, publicity-practiser, had no confidant. He it was who applied the balm to the inward sore. I felt compelled to go into retirement and to sit down in affliction and in expectation of the end. I tore my heart, and squeezed out my liver. The exhortations and endeavours of the *Shāhinshāh* led me back with blistered feet to the valley of patience. His life-giving encouragements and endeavours were my palisade. Departed reason returned, and slumbering understanding awoke. This came from his truthful lips, "The incomparable Almighty calls His servants to Himself by means of Liberation (*wārastagī*) and Restraint (*dilbastagī*). By these two opposed methods He confers upon them the desire of their hearts. If death be a reality, nothing befits the good friends of the departed save submission and resignation, and if life eternal be the lot of all men, then the friends of wisdom should wear an open brow and a cheerful visage, especially in this Caravanserai where there is nought which endures. If in future you adopt your present course (of excessive grief), the bonds of hearts will be loosed, and the city will cease to prosper. God shall be displeased, and harm shall be caused to realm and religion. If grief did not touch the hem of one who had a share of spirituality, and if he were not affected by it, his man's nature would be called brutish, and his humanity be termed bestiality. Hail to the domesticities (*shahrbandī*) which in this world cause every one's foot of wisdom to strike upon stones and which make the thread of self-control to fall from our hands and compel us to



yield to various forms of sorrow! That impatience which you displayed was a necessary adjunct of the state of Limitation (*wābas-tagī*).” By <sup>1</sup> many cordial counsels did that spiritual physician administer remedies to me.

For two days that journey-chooser (Faizī) withdrew his heart from us all, and turned to the incomparable Deity. There was no sign of consciousness. Suddenly the world’s commander, the lover of wisdom, came to his pillow. He opened his eyes and testified his veneration. The mighty sovereign yielded him to the gracious Deity and retired, and at the same moment my brother went to heaven. In his jewelled writings he has thus spoken of the final journey.

*Verse.*

Fayyāzī,<sup>2</sup> cease from this strain.

Thy bird <sup>3</sup> is moving (?), put him in the cage.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar’s exhortation is obscurely worded, and it is impossible to believe that he ever uttered it. It bears the impress of A. F. himself. The MSS.—of which I have consulted many—differ, and the text is probably corrupt. I find it difficult to understand the meaning of the phrase *nekūwān-i-nakhastīnrā* at line 8 of page 674. Perhaps *nakhastīn* means here those who have died first, and is opposed to *pasīn* later on. But some MSS. do not seem to have *pasīn*. I.O. MS. 3257 has *nekūwān nakh*. In line 9 the text has *khird dostān* “lovers of wisdom, philosophers,” but nearly all the MSS. have *jiz dostdārān-i-īnān* (or *īnānrā*), i.e. “except their friends.” But this does not seem intelligible unless we read with I.O. MS. 3288 *nabāshand* for *bāshand*. The meaning then might be, “If there is immortality then no one should rejoice at the death of their friends except when the latter were good, the allusion being to the doctrine of transmigration—in which Akbar was a

believer. At line 10 the text has *agar pasīn īn taraz peshgīrad*,” which I do not understand. I.O. MSS. 3238 and 3257 have *agar bastan* etc., and this seems likely to be right; *bastan ain taraz* would mean “to adopt this course.”

Apparently the gist of the discourse is that if death ends all things, then resignation is fitting, but if there is another life then the friends of the good should rejoice.

<sup>2</sup> Fayyāzī is the later name assumed by Faizī. From a remark by Faizī Sirhindī it would seem that our Faizī surrendered the title because the Sirhindī had a prior title to it. But according to Badayūnī Faizī called himself Fayyāzī in imitation of his brother’s title of ‘Allāmī. According to A. F. (B. 949), Faizī adopted the new title to express the abundance of his spiritual love. It appears from Badayūnī III. 307 that Faizī only adopted the title Fayyāzī in the year before his death. See the verse there.

<sup>3</sup> بنواست *banawā ast*. I take *nawā*



Pass away from this wide field.  
Pass away, thirsty one, from this ocean.

Another <sup>1</sup> (*Verse*).

Hail ! Shāhshāh the seeker after Truth,  
Pearl of ocean, Majesty of heaven.  
'Tis a pearl where a world annexes joy ;  
Thy reign is the heady wine of heaven.  
I'm a musician whose notes are formed of blood ;  
My pen is like the stops of an organ ;  
If from this feast where thy fellowship is the cupbearer,  
I depart, the melody will still remain ;  
The pitcher-drawers work marvels.  
No musician, yet the feast is full of music.

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Another (*Verse*).

No one can advance like me (?) ;  
This is the work of the heart, not of the body ;  
What can vulpine men do against me ?

to be used here in the sense of hopping or jumping. This seems to be the Lucknow editor's opinion, for he says that the meaning is that the bird, i.e. his genius, is about to fly. The word cannot, I think, here mean singing, or being in voice, for the verse occurs in the extract given at p. 686 of the A. N., line 11, and is followed by the couplet,

“Be silent, for the tale is a long one.”

It (the bird or the genius) is a sparrow and not a noble falcon. The word *mastasqī* which occurs in the last line of the quatrain means “a drawer of water,” and also “a dropsical person” and “one who is thirsty.” No doubt Faizī plays on all three meanings.

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī quotes some of these

lines—and many others—in his third volume p. 306, and says they come from the conclusion of a poem in supplication of Muḥammad which at the instance of friends he wrote when near his end. Like most of Faizī's poetry they are obscure, and justify Badayūnī's criticism of his writings. In the fourth line there is a play on the word *daur* which means both reign, and a cup that is handed round. Badayūnī has a different reading of the line, and it seems an improvement. He has “*Daur-tu shrāb u āsmān mast.*” “Thy reign is wine and heaven is intoxicated thereby.” The 7th line perhaps means that the pearl is not a material one but a pearl of the soul, and that Akbar's companionship takes the place of wine.



Why do they prick the forehead of the tiger ?  
 I've satisfied my gaze with the holy feast ;  
 I've received the favours of the holy lineage ;  
 Those dog-minded ones who wander in the streets  
 Are throatless (i.e. voiceless) devourers of carcases ;  
 I liken <sup>1</sup> them to the vultures of the age ;  
 I leave them to batten on carrion on a dung hill !  
 I took a morning-draught of life with Jesus ;<sup>2</sup>  
 I asked for life long as Noah's ;  
 When this word was born of my breath,  
Khizr <sup>3</sup> came and gave me his own term of life.  
 If the Fates exalt me in my fortune  
 They will make the life of my words lasting.

The world's lord intended to go a-hunting. He who was prepared for the last journey (Faizī) expressed a wish that the writer of the book of fortune would take four days' leave and be with him. When I petitioned,<sup>4</sup> H.M. abandoned his intention. On the fourth day he turned aside from mankind, and his knowledge of hidden things became apparent. Four months previously, at the beginning of the illness, he had composed this quatrain.

*Verse.*<sup>5</sup>

Seest thou what cruel sport the heavens played.  
 The bird of my heart made a night-rush to leave its cage,  
 That bosom in which worlds could harbour  
 Is pained when I draw half a breath.

During his illness this verse was several times on his lips.

<sup>1</sup> The Lucknow ed. says that the verb *māndan* has in this line the force of likening or comparing, and that in the next line it means "to abandon."

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the life-giving breath of the Messiah.

<sup>3</sup> Khizr is Elijah, and drank of the fountain of life. The last four lines occur in *Badayūnī's* extracts p. 309, and they come there after many

other lines which do not occur in our text.

<sup>4</sup> The third person is used, but I think A. F. means himself. *Badayūnī* says that Akbar visited Faizī at midnight, just before his death.

<sup>5</sup> These lines, with some verbal differences, are quoted in *Badayūnī*, Lowe 420, and text II. 406. The word in the second line is *shabāhangī*, and *shabāhang* means the morning



Verse.<sup>1</sup>

Should all the worlds together strive  
One lame ant's foot would not get well.

From a long time he loved<sup>2</sup> solitude, and took the path of silence. In spite of the endeavours of the Shāhinshāh, he did not complete the pentad.<sup>3</sup> He himself speaks of this.

## Verse

Many caravans set out, for the heavens  
Never heard before such a noise of bells;  
I fastened my pen to the foot of the bird;<sup>4</sup>  
I formed the idea of composing a pentad;  
It did not<sup>5</sup> adapt itself to the air of the skies  
But stopped midway on account of the heavy weight;  
I perceived that pigeons with feathered<sup>6</sup> legs

star, and also a nightingale. Here, I think it means a night-journey, on the analogy of *shab-i-khūn*, a night-attack. Apparently the meaning is that Faizī wished to sing, but was prevented by his asthma. The *Darbār-i-akbarī*, 365 reads *bad āhangī* "an evil design" (?) instead of *shabāhangī*. Price reads *qafs-i-shab* "cage of night," but the metre will not allow of this. Mr. Lowe renders the line, "the bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale." According to Price, *Jahāngīr*, p. 76, these lines were quoted by Akbar on his death-bed. They are more appropriate to Faizī as he was a poet, and was dying of breathlessness. Price's rendering of the second line is, "My soul is on the wing to escape this cage of darkness." Apparently, Badayūnī's remark, "One of his acquaintances invented this chronogram," must refer to the chronogram immediately preceding. Otherwise,

there must surely be an omission in the MS.

<sup>1</sup> I presume the verse to mean that all efforts are vain unless God, or Fate, wills. The *Darbār-i-akbarī* quotes the lines at p. 366, but reads *ba jang* instead of *ba tang*. It is *ba tang* in the *M'aāshīr* II. 588. By the lame ant's foot Faizī perhaps means his pen which he is fond of describing as a foot.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt the reading of the MSS., which is *dost dāsh̄ta*. The text has *daulat dāsh̄ta*; *dost* seems correct as it also occurs in the *M'aāshīr* II. 587.

<sup>3</sup> Faizī wished to write five poems in imitation of Nizāmī. A list of them is given in the *Darbār-i-akbarī*, p. 370.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning his genius.

<sup>5</sup> Text *bagirifta*, but MSS. have *nagirifta*.

<sup>6</sup> *Parpā*. The text has *bar pāi* "with weights on their legs" and this may be correct, but probably the true



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Were not capable of brushing the empyrean ;  
 If the feet had not caught in his snare,  
 There was hope that it would carry a message  
 Of the seven caravan-sarais and <sup>1</sup> the four stages (?) ;  
 I placed five litters on camels,  
 There were four brides and seven tents (?),  
 Half-way did I convey them ;  
 Some day, if Fortune give me repose,  
 I'll bring them one by one to the throne's foot ;  
 I watered my soul with the thought  
 That ere I sank into slumber,  
 If heaven brake not my vow,  
 I'd bring Bilqīs <sup>2</sup> to the bosom of Sulaimān.

I now <sup>3</sup> write down something of each poem that I have obtained.

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One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Sultān Daniel. On the eve of the 22nd Mihr (2nd October, 1595), there was a feast of joy, and that nosegay of fortune was united to the daughter of Rai Mal the son of Rai Māldeo. On the 2nd Ābān the solar weighment took place. There was rejoicing, and H.M. was weighed against twelve

reading is *parpā*, for there is a kind of pigeon which has feathered legs, and in consequence does not fly high. See Vullers and the *Bahār-i-‘ajām* s.v. *kabūtar*. Faizī feigns that he fastened his quill to the leg of his genius and consequently it could not soar. *Parpā* pigeons are referred to at B. 302 where the passage probably means that such pigeons only take short flights, in contradistinction to the *nishāwarī* who fly up till they are out of sight.

<sup>1</sup> I borrow the conjunction from I.O. MS. 236. I do not know what the line means, but probably the four stages mean four of the five poems. Apparently they are also the four brides mentioned two lines after this. The seven tents there referred to may

be the Haft Kishwar which Faizī intended to write in imitation of Niẓāmī's Haft Paikar, or they may be the seven climes. The five litters are the five poems of his projected pentad, of which only two were completed.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen of Sheba and the heroine of one of Faizī's poems. "Sulaimān" here stands for Akbar.

<sup>3</sup> Here follow twenty pages, from 676-696, of extracts from Faizī's poems! A. F.'s account of Faizī here may be compared with Badāyūnī's III. 299, etc., of which there is an abridged translation in Elliot V. 544, with the long account in the *Darbār-i-akbarī*, p. 359, etc., with B. 548, Elliot VI. 147 and Badāyūnī, Lowe 420.



articles. A new door was opened for liberality. On this day Rustam M. obtained leave to go to Cītūr.<sup>1</sup> As his agents in Multān had cast away the thread of justice, Multān was made crown land and entrusted to Khwāja Muqīm. Amīnu-d-dīn accompanied him (Rustam) in order that an ignorant<sup>2</sup> Turk might not oppress the weak. On account of the illness (*tabāhserai*) of his companion, he sent him back from Sirhind.

At this time Hakīm Hamām died. For two months he suffered from a decline (*diqq ranjurī*) and on the 16th (*Ābān*) he died. He was of a good countenance, was a jewel of purity, and a sweetly spoken man. He laboured much for men's advancement. He had a knowledge of temperaments and some acquaintance with physic. He was exalted by the high office of Bakāwal Begī (steward of the kitchen). H.M. begged forgiveness for him, and consoled the survivors by various kindnesses.

<sup>1</sup> See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 416.

<sup>2</sup> Text *nāsipās*, but the variant *nā-shīnās* is more reasonable and is supported by I.O. MS. 236. Perhaps the next sentence rather means that M. Rustam through wickedness turned back Amīnu-d-dīn al Sirhind, B. 314,

and M'aāṣīr III. 437, understand the passage to mean that Akbar recalled Rustam al Sirhind, but the verb is *gardānīd*, and not *gardānīdand* as would be the case if Akbar were the nominative.



## CHAPTER CXXIV.

RAJAH 'ALĪ K., THE RULER OF KHĀNDESH, JOINS THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS.

He always talked about service, but his acts did not balance his words. He did not have the august *khutba*<sup>1</sup> recited except in the presence of the envoys, and he became foolish from self-willed thoughts. When the Khān Ā'zam went to conquer the Deccan, he and other rebellious Deccanīs fought with him, and gravely repented of this afterwards. He was continually in fear and was seeking for means of escape. When the Maliku'sh-shu'arā Shaikh Abū-l-faiẓ Faiẓī went to give him advice, he emerged from his bewilderment, and when the Shāhinshāh's expedition for the conquest of the Deccan took place, he acquired fresh wisdom. His envoys were summoned to the Presence and his fears were removed by oaths and promises. When Prince Sultān Murād struck his tents in order to proceed from Gujarāt to the Deccan, and Shāhrukh M., the Khān-khānān, Shahbāz K. and other Mālwa officers proceeded with him, he had the auspicious idea of taking precautionary measures, and made an offer of his services. On the 27th he waited upon Shāhrukh M. and other imperial officers at the distance of thirty *kos* from Burhānpūr. The officers received him with cordiality, and by H. M.'s orders increased his territories by Nadarbār.

On this day Akbarnagar was founded. When Rājah Mān Sīngh was in Bengal he considered about a seat of government which could to some extent be safe from an attack<sup>2</sup> by boats. After much inquiry a place was found near Ākmaḥal (Rājmaḥal). Apparently Sher K. had approved of it. The foundation was laid in a fortunate hour, and

<sup>1</sup> He only had the proclamation of Akbar's name made when the ambassadors were at his court.

<sup>2</sup> *Āsīb-i-kish-tī*. But the word *kish-tī* seems a little doubtful as one does not see how Rajmaḥal was safe from

an attack by boats, unless perhaps from the Maghs, who were not likely to come so high up the river. Possibly the words mean that the place was a safe anchorage.



in a short time there was a choice city, to which the glorious name was given. At this time much of 'Īsā's territory came into possession. On the 27th Āzar Rājah Mān Singh led a force thither from the new city. The enemy not seeing themselves able to resist, crossed the Brahmaputra, and abandoned all this side of the river. On account of the approach of the rains the Rājah encamped in Sherpur, Hurra (in Maimansingh), and there built a fort which he called Salīm-nagar. Also at this time the fort of Kākrūyā<sup>1</sup> was taken. The *zamīndār* of it applied for help to Quṭbu-l-Mulk Deccanī (of Golconda), and Durjin Singh with some brave man was sent there. In a short time the *zamīndār* was punished and his house taken.

• One of the events was the punishment of the Kākar tribe (an Afghān tribe). On account of wickedness and of the strength of their country they for a long time tormented the weak, and closed the road to Qandahār. In the beginning of Dai, Shāh Beg K. went off to punish them, and a great battle took place. Strong stockades were destroyed, and many were killed. Some fled, and some submitted. On 3rd Dai Rājah Sūraj Singh received favours and was sent to guard Gujarāt which was somewhat bare of troops. On the 16th the wardrobe was submitted for inspection. On seeing a coat (*jāmah*) H.M. said, "It seems that this is Ikhlās K.'s," who had been one of the eunuchs<sup>2</sup> of Jannat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and from great service had been made an Amīr, and had died 17 years before this. Many simple-minded persons made inquiries, and the old register showed that the statement was true. Also a merchant brought, by the august orders, all his horses for inspection by H.M., in order that he might choose the best. H.M. said, "It seems that with one exception<sup>3</sup> they are not his." On a little inquiry this was found to be the case. A slave represented that he was called Balbal, and that this grieved him. H.M. gave him the name of Balkarn. He rubbed his head on the ground and said, "My mother and father

<sup>1</sup> So in text. From the mention of the ruler of Golconda it would appear that this sentence has nothing to do with Bengal. I.O. MS. 235 seems to have Gāgrūn, which was a fort in Mālwa (see Jarrett II. 209), and probably this is right.

<sup>2</sup> An I.O. MS. seems to have Khwāja *Pisar* instead of Khwāja *Sarā*. But "eunuch" is probably right. See B. 405. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* says he died as governor of Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the meaning is "one part is not his."



called me by this name." A separate volume would be required to describe the intuition into mysteries of the "gift of God." The subject cannot be disposed of in a subsidiary narrative. On the 11th Bahman he, at the request of Zain K. Koka, visited his house and gave it fresh glory. He tendered 170 elephants as a present but only some were accepted.

At this time H.M. directed that an expedition should go to the Deccan. As the hauteur<sup>1</sup> of the Prince and the duplicity of the officers were impressed upon him, and as unpleasant reports arrived one after the other, he determined to proceed thither. Though many courtiers from avarice and interested motives spoke against his going, their opposition was without effect. On the 21st the advance-camp was sent on. By wondrous fate there was some rain on that day. The Indian astrologers represented that whenever the sun was in one of the latter four signs and there was some rain, the despatch of the advance-camp should be postponed to another hour. After that there was heavy rain. On the eve of the 27th the throne-occupant himself came out. His idea was that if the rain lessened he would proceed on. On that day, after hunting, he alighted in the village of Bahāi Khān. Rain and hail increased every day. Though the clouds did not cease to send down rain, he every day enjoyed hunting. He turned back near Rām Tīrthā when thirteen *kos* off. On the 5th Isfandārmaz he by one march reached Lahore.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badāyūnī, Lowe, 391.



## CHAPTER CXXV.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE VICTORIOUS SOLDIERS IN THE DECCAN, AND THE  
SIEGE OF THE FORT OF AHMADNAGAR.

When <sup>1</sup> an order was given for the conquest of this country, the Prince made preparations for the expedition. The Khān-khānān was delayed by men's not having assembled. Before he joined, there arose some dust of dissension. The Prince's idea was that the leaders of the troops should join him (in Gujarāt) and proceed from there to the Deccan. The Commander-in-chief's idea was that he should march by himself by the route of Mālwa. When <sup>2</sup> they had settled their plans, the Prince left Aḥmadābād on 20th Ābān of the previous year (about 30th Oct. 1594), and stayed for some time in Broach, waiting for troops.<sup>3</sup> On 22nd Khirdād (beginning of June 699 1595), he left that place. The Khān-khānān, after collecting his men, spent some time in Bhilsa (in Gwāliyār), which was his fief, and on 9th Amardād (19 July, 1595), proceeded towards Ujjain. The Prince was angry at this and sent him an indignant letter. The Khān-khānān represented that the ruler of Khāndesh was using the language of concord, and that, apparently he would join the imperial army. His (the Rājah's) mind was somewhat disturbed, and it would be proper (for the prince) to spend some time in Gujarāt in the enjoyment of hunting. The Prince from anxiety about the expedition, became somewhat angry, and tale-bearers and interested

<sup>1</sup> Partially translated in Elliot VI. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot has "As their opinions did not agree," and this seems to make better sense. But text and I.O. MS. 236 have "When their ideas became of one colour." Either a negative has been omitted, or the clause refers to the generals having both agreed to march.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Iqbāl-nāma, the

troops that Murād was waiting for were the Khān-khānān's. It says Rājah 'Alī joined the K.K. 30 *kos* from Burhānpūr, but Murād waited in Broach, thinking the K.K. would join him there. When he found they had gone by another route, he became very angry. When Akbar heard of this he sent Rām Chand to reprove both of them, and dispatched a lac of mohars for the soldiers' pay.



persons widened the breach. He proceeded to Aḥmadnagar with the Gujarāt army. While the imperial servants and Rājah 'Alī K. were marching to join the Prince, news (of his departure) came and filled them with sorrow. The Khān-khānān left his army, his artillery, and his elephants with Shāhrukh and the other officers, and went off rapidly with Rājah 'Alī. On 19th Azar (29th Nov. 1595), he joined the Prince near the fortress of Cāndor<sup>1</sup> 30 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. From want of experience, and evil teaching, the Prince did not admit them to pay their respects. He went off<sup>2</sup> to a distance and only after much discussion granted an audience. When the army came up afterwards it was not treated in a soothing way. The Khān-khānān and many of the auxiliary troops (*kumakī*) became disgusted and he withdrew his hand from the work. Šādiq K. quarrelled with<sup>3</sup> Shahbāz K. on account of the old grudge and he (Shahbāz), out of apprehension, seldom went to the *darbār*. On 7th Dai the troops assembled half a *kos* from the city. Many soldiers and peasants received comforting messages (i.e. safe-conducts). On that day the K.K. and Shahbāz went to the city, and owing to their neglect some soldiers committed plunder.<sup>4</sup> With great difficulty they were restrained, but the citizens lost heart on beholding the breach of promises. On the 8th (18 December 1595), the fort was invested, and Cānd Bībi, the sister of Burhān, undertook the defence. When Aḥmad was raised to the sovereignty, Ikhlas came to Aḥmadnagar to support Motī. He was defeated and fled to Pattan.<sup>5</sup> When the victorious troops joined<sup>6</sup> together, Manjū took Aḥmad and proceeded with some money and elephants to Bījāpūr. He was nearly

<sup>1</sup> Cānd in text.

<sup>2</sup> There is the variant *rāī*, instead of *rāhī*, and perhaps the meaning is he assumed a distant manner."

<sup>3</sup> Elliot VI. 93 makes Šādiq the one who rarely went to the *darbār*, but the text, as pointed, makes the statement refer to Shahbāz, and this seems right. Šādiq belonged to the *darbār*, being Murād's guardian, and Shahbāz came from Mālwa. The Iqbāl-nāma says it was Shahbāz who kept away. The Iqbāl-nāma calls

Šādiq the make-bate who stirred up Murād against the K.K. and says that the first day the latter was not allowed to pay his respects, and that next day the prince received him "with a thousand frowns."

<sup>4</sup> Firishta lays the blame of this on Shahbāz. Text has *rezah sipāhi*, but probably this is a misreading.

<sup>5</sup> On the Godavery!

<sup>6</sup> Text, *ba ikbar*, as if it were a place, but probably it only means "gathering together."



being made prisoner, but escaped owing to the neglect of the generals. The siege of the fort, which from that day commenced, became a tedious affair. Cānd Bībī, who was afraid of the fort's being taken, resolved, on hearing of the news (of the dissensions?), upon resisting. On the 9th Shāh 'Alī and Abhang K. with a large body of men made a night attack on the Khān-khānān's entrenchments. There was a great fight, and many of the enemy were killed. They returned to the fort, unsuccessful. If the success had been a little prosecuted, they would have been taken, or active men would have entered the fort along with them. Things became difficult on account of the dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads, and the want of food. Though ingenious and right-thinking persons represented that three great armies had assembled, and that each 700 should take upon itself one of three things: 1st, to take the fort; 2nd, to conquer the country; 3rd, to guard the roads, not one was done. On the 13th a party of scoundrels did injury to the camp and the animals, but retreated without accomplishing their object. Saiyīd<sup>1</sup> Rājah and several of his brethren died bravely and H.M. left his fief to his sons. On the 16th Sa'ādat K.<sup>2</sup> plundered a Gujarāt caravan which had almost arrived, and Sayyid 'Ālam and some others were killed. Shaikh M'arūf and a party moved quickly and made their escape, and Ṣādiq K. took Rājah 'Alī K. and others with him and set about chastising him (i.e. Sa'ādat K.), but was not successful. He only made himself and the ruler of Khāndesh too trivial. The thread of proper appreciation should not be cast aside and a tiger should not be sent to fight a jackal. On the 19th Sher Khwāja, Sh. Daulat, Kāmran Beg, Daulat K. and some other brave men were sent to Pattan. After a severe engagement they defeated Ikhlas K., and obtained much plunder. As there was no leader to stop oppression, the inhabitants of Pattan—who held writings guarding their quarters—were plundered to the uttermost,<sup>3</sup> and high and low

<sup>1</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says, he went out on a foraging expedition. He belonged to the Sayyids of Bārha. See B. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Sa'ādat K. is probably the person mentioned in B. 478 and note, who afterwards entered Akbar's service.

Shaikh M'arūf may be the Ṣadr of Bhakkar (B. 471). He was in the caravan, and fought his way out.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Firishta* who says the inhabitants, men and women, were stripped naked.



were terrified by seeing the bad faith. On the 11th Isfandārmaz (21 February, 1596), the wall of the fort was somewhat broken. In the prince's entrenchment the foundations of the fort were made empty by extensive excavations. These were filled with gunpowder and set on fire. Thirty yards of wall were thrown down. Active men were ready to enter, but as the mine in Šādiq's battery had been discovered,<sup>1</sup> and emptied, the besiegers delayed till it should explode, being apprehensive that what had happened at Chitor might occur. So long did they delay that the garrison replaced the wall. Next <sup>2</sup> day some brave men ran to that quarter, but gained nothing except their own loss. The end of the day shone upon failure, and the darkness of the night prevented success. The garrison who—seeing the dissensions among the besiegers—had recovered their courage, became somewhat bewildered and proposed a peace. They represented that they would take Bahādur, Burhān's grandson, out of prison and give this child the title of Nizām-ul-mulkī and would make him a servant of the sublime court, that the territory of Aḥmadnagar should be made his fief, and that as a thankoffering the country of Berār would be made over to the victorious army, and that jewels, choice elephants, and other varieties, would be given as presents. A party of men, owing to ignorance, and some, from interested motives, accepted these improper proposals. Though able men represented the want of food, the dismay and the trickery of the garrison, it was of no avail. Owing to the influence of bribes, and the listening to idle tales, the peace-proposals were accepted on 13 Isfandārmaz (23 February, 1596), and fighting was laid <sup>3</sup> aside.

**701** On the 15th the lunar weighment of H.M. took place and there was a great feast. The holy frame was weighed against eight articles, and the wishful had their desires gratified.

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says, a Persian in the Moghul army gave information of the mine to the garrison, and so they destroyed it, without the besiegers knowing that this had been done.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīgar roz.*

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi* K.'s account of the siege is unusually detailed, and he does justice to the heroism of Chānd Bībī.



## CHAPTER CXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 41ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO  
WIT, THE YEAR AMARDĀD OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Wednesday 20th Rajab, 1004 (11th March, 1596), after 9 hours, 22 minutes, the world-warming sun shed his rays upon Aries. The world received glory, and the fifth year of the fourth cycle began, and conveyed the news of splendour to the world. Up to the day of culmination there were grand banquets, and the period of prosperity became more active.

*Verse.*

Joy once more came into movement,  
Princely delights abounded,  
Pearls and rubies cast such lustre  
That ocean and mine became mingled.

Zain K. Koka and Şādiq K. were raised to the rank of Panjhazārī, Shāh Qulī Maḥram was made a Cār-hazārī (4000), and many received the reward of good service. On the 26th a blind<sup>1</sup> man came to court, and astonished great and small. In consequence of much study he talked quietly about things and discussed on every subject without exception. Some simple-minded persons thought it was jugglery, and some thought he was helped by a *jinn*. On the 28th H.M. went to the gardens, and enjoyed himself with the new beauties of the Dilāmez and Rāmbārī pleasure-grounds.

<sup>1</sup> The text is not quite intelligible to me. Chalmers translates: "At this time also a blind man appeared at the court who undertook to tell all things that should be asked of him." The author of the Iqbāl-nāma refers to the incident and says he saw the man, but the precise nature of the

marvel is left by him obscure. The text has *ba dū dast-u-baghal sakhan sarāide*. Lit. "He spoke with two hands and with his armpit"! The Iqbāl-nāma has "placing his hands under his armpit." According to Vullers this is a phrase for standing quietly, and not moving.



## CHAPTER CXXVII.

INCREASE OF THE SHAHINSHAH'S DOMINION.

Inasmuch as H.M. regards the issue of every event to be dependent on supplication to God, the degree of eternal dominion continually increases, and the strifemongers and the rebellious sit down in the black day of failure, and evil-minded descend into the pit of shame. Accordingly, at this time, of untimely disturbance, dissension and disgust of the army of the Deccan, and of the success of the foe, the country of Berār was conquered, and the wicked were put to silence. As the story of the peace was credited, they for a time looked to the fulfilment of the engagements, but before talk had become action, they (the imperial armies), on 10 Farwardīn (20th March, 1596), on a false report about the army of Bījāpur, **702** and from the destructive action of some of the leaders, retired from the investment of Aḥmadnagar.<sup>1</sup> Vagabonds followed them, and, stage by stage, laid hold of the baggage. On account of the dissensions there was no remedy for these things. On 14 Ardibihisht they reached the town of Maḥkar<sup>2</sup> in Berār. By great good fortune the enemy had left the territory, and a council was held about keeping it. Many thought that to guard it was beyond their power. Šādiq, under a happy star, took upon himself the guarding of the marches, and Mīr Murtaza became security for the cultivation of the country. At first he (Murtaza) made his residence in that city—which adjoins the territory of Aḥmadnagar. M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī, Sh. Daulat, Sh. Mīr Moẓaffar, Muḥammad K. Sh. Sikan-dar, and many servants joined him, while others went to Īlchpūr—which is the capital of Berār. Ḥasan K. of Mīana, Abū-l-faṭḥ, Qalb 'Alī, 'Abdu-r-raḥman Beg and other servants were appointed to assist.

One of the occurrences was the coming of the victorious troops

<sup>1</sup> An obscure clause, beginning *u lakhte badān sū* is left untranslated.

<sup>2</sup> Bhakkar in text, but the variant Maḥkar is right: see J. II. 237.



to Tīrāh. When Qāsim K. was killed, the Tārīkīs rebelled and the Khaibar route became unsafe. Qulīj K. went off to administer Zābulistān (Afghanistan) and to punish them. Mubārak K., Jalāl K., Sher K., Nazr K., Mīr ‘Abdu-r-razzāq Mu‘marī and many others followed him. When he had settled Kābul he proceeded towards Tīrāh. He crossed difficult passes from Bāzārak and approached that country. The Afrīdī leaders renewed their promises of loyalty, and on the allegation that their cultivation would be destroyed by the imperial troops, he (Qulīj), out of his simplicity, went to Begrām. He wished to enter the country (of Tīrāh) by the Īlam<sup>1</sup> pass, but on account of the difficulty of the ravine he could not do so. From there he proceeded to Kohat, thinking that he would attain his object in that way. The difficulty of the route kept him back, and he thought of going by Bangash. He came to Kharmāba. There was a slight engagement, and after being victorious, he laid the foundation of a fort. The Tārīkīs erected a stockade (shākh-band) and prepared for battle. Owing to the wondrous fortune (of H.M.) the inhabitants pointed out a secret path. The general left Mubārik K., Shāh Muḥammad, M. ‘Alī Islāmābādī and others there and went on rapidly by this route. During the whole night and till midday horse and foot traversed difficult passes and arrived in the country. When Jalāla became aware of this, he exerted himself to close the road, but could not come up. He failed and without a struggle retired to difficult defiles. The army destroyed the stockade and passed by this route with the baggage. On account of the insecurity of the routes, and the deficiency of provisions, the victorious troops were put to trouble. Takhta Beg, Mīr ‘Abdu-r-razzāq Mu‘- **703** marī and other heroes were sent to Begrām to bring provisions. On 3rd Khurdād, Āhanposh—which is a central and strong place in Tīrāh—was made the site of the camp. As there was delay in the coming of the persons who had been sent, return was made to Kabul. This going from side to side and this returning were not approved of by H.M. On the 20th it was reported to H.M. that Mathurā Dās<sup>2</sup> Qūrbegī had died. Honesty and valour had brightened his forehead;

<sup>1</sup> *Ilam gazr*, perhaps the Ailum of Elphinstone I. 129. Or it may be a ferry on the Kābul river as Shah-

Alam is another name for that river.

<sup>2</sup> B. 523. He was a Khatrī.



when the misconduct of the army of the Deccan became known, an order of censure had been issued and instructions given; Mathurā Dās was sent by relays of horses, and many verbal messages were entrusted to him. Near Mulkāpūr robbers attacked his baggage. He engaged with them; when the robbers dispersed, he attacked them on foot, and was killed by a spear. One day before this, at the time of eating, when a shoulder-blade was brought before H.M., he said: "The bone shows that one of our favourites has been killed." Next morning, a new proof was given of his knowledge of hidden things. At this time Shāhpūr became founded. When Prince Sultān Murād's mind was relieved somewhat of the guarding of Berār he, together with M. Shāhrukh, the Khān-khānān, Rājah 'Alī K., Shāhbāz K., Jagannāth, Rai Durgā and other officers made an expedition to the centre of the territory. He established himself on the 25th<sup>1</sup> six *kos* from Bālāpūr. In a short time a choice city was constructed and it became known to the world by that name (Shāhpūr). At this time a wicked man who had given himself out as Burhān was executed. When his fraud was discovered, the landowners put him into prison. When he showed signs of repentance he was released by H.M., and treated with favour. The base fellow took to the same crooked courses and fled. The landowners in the northern hills seized him and he met with his deserts.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Tūrān. In the year when H.M. came to the bank of the Indus and an order was given for levelling the Khaibar road, a great commotion arose in Tūrān, and 'Abdullah K. wisely sent Mīr Qoresh with a supplicatory letter and presents, and made promises of peace and friendship. The gracious sovereign received these, and by sending Hakīm Hamām delivered him from his consternation. When Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq and Mullā Husaini, who came, one after the other, with conciliatory letters, died of sickness, the Tūrānians again became uneasy. On the 26th Khawāja Ashraf Naqshbandī was sent  
**704** with choice presents and Sh. Husaini of Lucknow was appointed as custodian (*tahwildārī*), and a friendly letter was written. It is here given without addition or diminution.

<sup>1</sup> Eight miles south of Bālāpūr, and now in ruins. B. XXII. note.

Bālāpūr is in Berār. I.G.I. 458. See also J. II. 229.



## CHAPTER CXXVIII.

LETTER <sup>1</sup> OF THE SHAHINSHĀH TO 'ABDULLAH K. UZBEG THE KING  
OF TŪRĀN.

Boundless thanksgivings are due to the Initiator who, by the marvels of His eternal power, has by so many glorious sciences, that is, the categories of His Wisdom, brought forth the varied universe from the privy-chamber of secrecy to the Court of manifestation, and has subdued, disciplined, and soothed the tribes of mankind and bestowed on them unity <sup>2</sup> of sentiment; at one time, by spiritual rulers, that is, the holy spirits of prophets and of our great apostles—upon whom be peace—and at another, has by the dread power of temporal monarchs, who are the princely pillars of the courts of His Majesty, given them the adornment of external unity. Therefore, let worlds of blessings be given to the spirits of the caravan-leaders on the highway of purpose who have conveyed spiritual travellers and worldly pilgrims from the desert of misery and the wilderness of contrariety to the metropolis of right direction and friendship, and have then departed to the privy-chamber of eternity. And may universes of sublime aids and celestial succours attend those great men who preserve the present time from the disturbance of strife and the accidents of fortune and expend all their lofty genius in keeping the whole of mankind, whether home or foreign, in peace and tranquillity, and in improving this evil dwelling-place (the world).

At the time of enjoyment when the season was auspicious and our heart glad and we were in the pleasant country of Kabul, we read with delight those choice pages of friendship, which were

<sup>1</sup> This letter is the first in the letters (Inshā) of A. F., though in point of time it is not the first letter to 'Abdullāh K. The letter also appears in Gladwin's *Classic Selections* I. Calcutta 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Wāḥdat-i-irādī*. The word *wāḥdat* is used both to express Unity and Unitarianism.



the masterpiece of the pinacothek of concord, . . . . (Here follows a string of compliments about 'Abdullah's letter and his expression of amity. They occupy about seven lines.)

**705** What you have written with a pen perfumed with brotherhood on the subject of our mutually exerting ourselves to strengthen the foundations of Peace, and to purify the fountains of concord, and of making this Hindu <sup>1</sup> Koh the boundary between us, has most fully commended itself to us. Clearly, there is no nobler thing in the outward universe and social state than Love and Harmony, for the due ordering of the classes of human beings is linked and bound up therewith. Whenever this idea is manifested in the ranks of sovereigns—who are pillars of the courts of Majesty—it shall assuredly be fruitful of blessings, and procreant of beauties here and hereafter. By it thousands of souls and tribes shall take their rest in the cradles of safety! It <sup>2</sup> would have been fitting for us to begin the exposition of the ways of peace, and the demonstration of the rights of friendship, seeing that since the commencement of the unfolding of the morning of auspiciousness, the whole of our righteous practice has been—contrary to the ways of most of former rulers—to follow the path of amity and association with the various nations of mankind. As <sup>3</sup> your Highness has entered upon this subject, it

<sup>1</sup> According to Bāyazīd Biyāt (I.O. MS. 216, p. 59a) Akbar changed the name of these mountains from Hindu-kush to Hindu Koh in 994 (1586), but it would appear from this letter that 'Abdullah used the term in his letter, and it is not likely that he would borrow it from Akbar.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to the commentator whose notes are given in the Newal Kishor edition of the Inshā for an explanation of this passage. Evidently 'Abdullah K. had read Akbar a lecture about friendship and pacific dispositions, and Akbar replies by hinting that such remarks were unnecessary as he had always been peaceful. The remarks there-

fore should rather have emanated from him (Akbar).

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure if I have understood this sentence. But I think that the recurrence of the word *bādī* seems to show that the clause refers to Abdullah. "I should have begun the subject, but as you have done so, then I beg to draw your attention to the following acts of mine." The pronoun *mā* "our" in the tenth line does not occur in the I.O. MSS. or in the Lucknow ed., and is, I think, wrong. The Lucknow commentator says, *wādī* in the phrase *bādē-in wādī* refers to the path of peace, and it may be that it refers to this as well as to "the subject" of



is proper that at this time you should give your attention to instances of such conduct. For example, when at this time the ruler of Īrān, relying upon former ties, sent Yādgār Sultān Shāmlū to us and asked for help, we did not consent. Also, when Shāhrukh M. petitioned that he might have a fief in Kābul, or Kashmīr, or Sawād, Bajaur and Tīrāh—which are cold <sup>1</sup> countries—we did not grant his request, having taken into consideration the proximity (of ‘Abdullah), but gave him a fief in the province of Mālwa. Also we summoned the Mīrzās of Qandahār to court and committed the charge of that country—which belonged from of old to the imperial territories—to old servants of ours, lest the Tūrān troops should attack that quarter under the idea that it appertained to Persia, and also <sup>2</sup> that there might be a great commingling of your territories and ours. Also a wicked vagabond raised the head of disturbance in the hill-country of Badakhshān and claimed to be the son of Shāhrukh M. and was joined by the landholders there. Though he sent petitions and asked for help, we did not attend to him, and at last he became a vagabond in the desert of ruin.

As the keeping of one’s word is indispensable to a great mind, we desired that when proposals of peace had once been made, they should be carried into effect. In fact, if the cordial expressions conveyed by messengers and letters be acted upon, what could be better? Or let a place be fixed and let us there have a feast of concord, and let us there discuss, without the intervention of any go-between, matters of religion and state, and things temporal and spiritual! It has come to our hearing that a number of fly-like creatures have made our being in the Panjāb their text and have spoken things contrary to the foundations of friendship. Alas, that things which never entered into our minds, should have been mentioned! or that actions should be contrary to one’s avowals!

‘Abdullāh’s remarks. I have taken *ān wālā qadr* to mean ‘Abdullāh, but possibly it refers to the princes of past times who trod the path of peace. I.O. MS. 236 has *bāshand* and I.O. MS. 275 has *bāshad*, and lower down Akbar refers to ‘Abdullah as ‘*ān wālā shaukat*.’

<sup>1</sup> This is put in because naturally Shāhrukh would have preferred a cold country.

<sup>2</sup> The word *nīz* occurs in the MSS. though not in the text. Possibly the word *khallat* has to be taken here in the sense of confusion.



Although the climate and the hunting in this country are agreeable to us, we have determined <sup>1</sup> to proceed to Agra the capital, in order that the mouths of praters may be closed. What you have written about there being a cloud on your heart with reference to the matter of Shāhrukh M. is a thing which gives rise to meditation, for if in the souls of great rulers who are the contemplators of divine lights, and the exponents of the ways of purity, the dust of rivalry settle, what can be the case with other classes of mankind? Especially when the cause of them is his (Shāhrukh's) youth and ignorance. Why should these not be obliterated by the waters of pardon? He by his self-will had committed faults against our family, and in retribution therefor became a bewildered one in the desert of exile. When he took refuge with us, and signs of repentance were visible on his forehead we passed over (his offences). As to what you have hinted, seeing that the coming of Shahrukh M. and the sons of Muḥammad Ḥakīm to our court are merely instances of our love for the noble family, why should you regard their approach in this light? What, on account of love and friendship, you have detailed about your victories has pleased us for we have considered these successes as the result of your good qualities. As to what you have written in the letter brought by Maulānā Ḥusainī to the effect that your son in consequence of tender years had made improper requests, and about your being vexed at this lest it should cast dust on the skirt of our friendship, and with reference to your lengthy apologising on his account—the courier was drowned on the way before his arrival and so the purport of the letter did not become known. We were sorry for the catastrophe. The ties of ancient relationship and the associations of renewed love are not such that, if it be granted that something should occur, any dust of vexation should settle on the skirt of friendship. Children are sportive with their real fathers, especially with your Majesty; if they behave in the same way to those who stand towards them in a similar relation, what marvel is it? Auspicious children who make the pleasing of their father their object, exert themselves to preserve the relationship. The glorious compacts and agreements—which

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<sup>1</sup> Akbar did not abandon Lahore for Agra till the 43rd year of his reign and after 'Abdullāh's death.



have been ratified by skilful ambassadors, one after the other, are fixed in our mind. In the code of Islām and the rules of generosity one-hundredth part of them would be sufficient for making permanent the pillars of friendship and concord, and still more in the case of the liberal and the choosers of truth. What you have written about certain expeditions having been postponed till the arrival of Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq has been understood. You will have heard of his death which occurred after we had given him leave to return. He was intelligent and active-minded. If he had returned to you, you would have heard from him many secrets of affection. May every desire of your heart be accomplished! Every assistance that is due from friendship shall be shown (by us), so that praiseworthy endeavours may be manifested. 707

God be praised that from the beginning of our ascending the throne of rule till now, which is the tenth year of the second<sup>1</sup> cycle, and is the dawning of the morning of fortune, and the opening smile of the spring of dominion and glory, the whole righteous aim of this suppliant at the Divine court has been to disregard his own interests, and to work always for the healing and ordering of mankind. By the blessing of God, the vast territory of Hindustan,<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

When Maulānā Ḥusainī presented himself, an order was given to the officers to allow him to depart quickly. Meanwhile some ill-fated wretches in Kashmīr began strife and sedition (*fitna* u *fasād*) and contended against God-given dominion. The army of fortune assembled, together with a number of courtiers, under the guise of hunting, when the eyes of instruction of the beholders of the Divine power were opened, and the report of the disturbances was heard. In spite of the violence of the rains, we hastened thither, and before the holy warriors had passed through the defiles, 710

<sup>1</sup> *Qaran*. Here it means a period of thirty years, the letter having been written shortly after the completion of the fortieth year. The reference to the dawning of the morning of fortune, etc., seems to be to the circumstance that the letter was written in the early spring.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdullāh's letter is very long. As it has already been published (in part) in Mrs. Beveridge's translation of the *Life of Akbar* (Vol. II, page 227), the reader is referred to that book from page 228 line 6 to page 231.



some right-thinking persons who, out of necessity, had become involved in the tempest of indiscretion, obtained their opportunity, and brought the head of their leader. As the army had nearly arrived, we went on to that autumnless garden, and tasted spiritual and temporal abundance in that bounteous rose-garden. The dispatch of the ambassador was delayed, and when the royal army returned, news was received by the way of the catastrophe of Maulānā Husainī, who had passed away owing to a stomach-attack. This was a cause of much sorrow. Accordingly, we sent some loving words by means of that high officer Khawāja Ashraf,<sup>1</sup> who is an old servant of our family, in order that he might show the matter to your Highness, and also confirm the friendly ties which are based on correspondence. We hope that tidings of love and unity may ever refresh the garden of the heart. The end.

On the 30th<sup>2</sup> the privy chamber of wisdom was illuminated by a ray from the Shāhinshāh's glory, and some special intimates received joy. Suddenly there arose the noise of a marriage and H.M. ordered that the music should be stopped, as a foreign sound did not suit the banquet of enlightenment. The spectators received collyrium on beholding his mildness, farsight, fewness of words, and acceptance of remark.

At this time the Prince Royal became violently enamoured of the daughter of Zain K. Koka, and meditated marrying<sup>3</sup> her. H.M. was displeased at the impropriety, but when he saw that his heart was immoderately affected, he, of necessity, gave his consent. There was a great feast, and a new law for joy.

*Verse.*

They set up a spacious tent.

They made the ground a star-spangled heaven.

On all sides they put screens round the courtyard.

They gave to the curtain new moonlight.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Khawājah 'Abd-ul-bārī. B. 512.

<sup>2</sup> This is a rather mysterious paragraph, and there are different readings. Instead of khilwat kada-i-

dānish I.O. MS. 236 has khilwat kada-i-uns, "the privy-chamber of friendship," and instead of farmūdabudand it has farmūdand.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem from B. 345 that



On the eve of 8 Tīr (18 June, 1596) the nuptials were celebrated in the dwelling of Miriam Makānī, and the jewel of chastity was conveyed to the harem.

One of the occurrences was the capture of the fort of Busna. **711** Owing to the neglect of the custodians it had again fallen into the hands of the Afghans, and become a source of increased presumption. Rajah Mān Singh sent a chosen force thither under the charge of Durjan Singh. Sulaimān and Kedar<sup>1</sup> Rai strengthened the fort and set themselves to fight. The victorious troops invested the fort, and every day there were great combats. On the 10th (Tīr) a gun burst inside the fort, and Sulaimān and many others were killed. Kedār was wounded, and fell. As he was helpless, he fled and took shelter with 'Isā.

On this day Bikramājīt the grandson of Rajah Rām Cand was exalted by doing homage. When his father died, wicked men made this youth the instrument of their own ends, and thinking that they would be sheltered at Bāndhū,<sup>2</sup> set about evil schemes. When Rai Patr Dās was sent, he by ability and courage took possession of much territory. The garrison craftily asked that one of the great men of the court should take them by the hand and bring them to court. H.M. consented and by his orders Ism'aīl Qulī K. brought them, and they received suitable favours.

One of the occurrences was the victory of the army of the Deccan. When Šādiq K. took up his quarters in Mahkar, and Berār recovered somewhat from its distracted state, Azhdar K., 'Aīn K., Ḥabīb K. and other Deccanīs rose up to make a disturbance. A chosen force under the command of M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī went to put matters right. On the 12th he suddenly fell upon 'Aīn K.'s camp and inflicted chastisement. He escaped with a few companions in a bewildered state, and much plunder was obtained. Some unquiet spirits came by a secret path upon them, but were

Akbar objected to the marriage, because the Prince was already married to Zain K.'s niece. Akbar objected to marriages between near relations. It appears from Saiyid Aḥmad's Aṣār Šanādīd, p. 48 of

Lucknow ed. of 1895, that the lady was known by the name of Khāṣ Maḥal, and that she was alive in Shāh Jahan's reign in 1042, 1632-33.

<sup>1</sup> Text Kedā.

<sup>2</sup> B. 407, etc.



defeated after a short struggle. Dancing<sup>1</sup> and singing women elephants, etc., were obtained. On the 16th Tolak K. died in Bengal. He was an old servant. On the 20th S'aīd K. was sent off to Behar after receiving many instructive advices. On the eve of the 22nd there was a feast of reason. Suddenly there were clouds and it came on to rain. H.M. said, "Be gentle, O rain, and do not cause the dispersion of this spiritual banquet. Soon the air became clear, and there was wonderful stillness. Everywhere else it rained heavily, but it kept away from the palace.

At this time H.M. had compassion on the simplicity of M. Mozaffar Husain Qandahārī. He from self-indulgence and carelessness left his work to greedy oppressors. Several times the tenants of his fiefs and some traders came to obtain redress. Advice had no effect on him. He got disgusted with daily administration and begged permission to go to the Hījāz. It was granted, and after some time he repented and sate down in bewilderment. On the 24th H.M. recognised his dignity and recalled him, and granted him new favours. On the 27th M. Koka produced a plank to H.M. and said that at the time of splitting it a green animal came out from the middle of it. Shortly afterwards it died. In order that it might show how it was he had put it back again. H.M. said, when things come to life in an elephant's tusks, and on stones, what is wonderful in their doing so in a plank which is somewhat softer, but men are astonished at nothing except what they seldom see. On the 31st M. Rustum was sent to the northern hills. As Bāsū and some landholders had wickedly raised the head of disobedience, the Mīrzā was given Pathān (Pathānkot) and its neighbourhood in fief and sent off there. Āṣaf K., Hāshim Beg and many others went to help him. On the 11th Amardād Rām Cand was sent to Berār. When the misbehaviour of the soldiers of the south was represented to H.M., and it also appeared that Shāhbāz K. with the Mālwa army had gone off to his fief without the Prince's permission, and that one lakh of *muhars* which had been sent for the equipment of the army had remained in Gwaliyar on

<sup>1</sup> The text has *ramān*, but it should be *zanān*. The words are *ramān-akhāra*. For *akhāra* see J. III. 258.

The word means a palaestra or theatre. The *Iqbāl-nāma* has "singing and playing girls."



account of the insecurity of the roads, that good servant was sent off in order to convey the treasure under a proper guard, and also to recall the Mālwa troops, and to give them counsels. At this rainy season, high and low were disquieted by the small amount of rain. On the 12th rain fell at the intercession of H.M. and withered hearts were refreshed. On this day Muḥammad Beg and his son Tāhir Beg arrived from Persia, and had an audience. They claimed to be descended from the poet Khwaja Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad (Ḥāfiẓ). They also knew something about divination (*jafar*). H.M. thought of the expedition to the Deccan and asked (them ?) for an augury.

This verse came out.

*Verse.*

March, march, march away.

March for you'll be victorious.

One <sup>1</sup> of the occurrences was the mishap of an accident to the holy personality. By the divine protection it ended well. On the night of the 18th (Amardād, 28th July, 1596) H.M. had a deer-fight. Men looked on from a distance.<sup>2</sup> Suddenly a deer ran and butted him with his horns. That athlete seized the horns, and though he fell, he did not relinquish his hold. One of the testicles was lacerated, and blood flowed. That strong-souled one did not regard it but continued to attend to the work of government. On the 7th day the injury <sup>3</sup> became serious, and the swelling increased. On

<sup>1</sup> See about deer-fights. B. 218. The Iqbāl-nāma puts the occurrence into the 40th year and says it occurred on a moonlight night. Cf. B. 221 and 212 about nocturnal combats. The special night for such sport was the 14th of the Muḥammadan month, i.e. the full-moon night, and the 18th Amardād, 1596, corresponded to about the middle of Zī-l-ḥajjah 1004. Faizī Sirhindī, Elliot VI. 131, says the occurrence was on 15 Zī-l-q'ada. This was 1004, and corresponds to 1 July, 1596; Faizī (Elliot VI. 131) seems to put the occurrence into the 39th year, 1002, but this is an error,

as is also the use of the words stag-hunt. In the original Faizī speaks of a deer-fight. The word "night" *shab*, does not occur on the text, but it is in the B.M. MS. 27,247 and in the I.O. MS. 236, and so I have inserted it, especially as it is supported by the statement in the Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>2</sup> *Az dūr nazẓāragī*. But perhaps it should be *az daur* and the meaning be that the spectators sate round in a circle.

<sup>3</sup> Text *āsīb-i-āftāba*. *Āftāba* means a water-bottle and surely can have no application here. On referring to B.M. MS. 27,247 and to I.O.



account of the diversity of opinion among the physicians, the treatment was not decided upon, and the pain momentarily increased. After much discussion the case was left to Ḥakīm Miṣrī and Ḥakīm 'Alī. The application of the medicine was left to the writer of the  
**713** book of fortune. Shaikh Bīnā<sup>1</sup> and Shaikh Hansū his son did good service in putting on the plasters and in opening and tying the bandages. Though the illness lasted one month<sup>2</sup> and twenty-two days, yet there were twenty-nine days which passed with difficulty. Though out of prudence he every day held public audiences, there arose great commotion, and the market of strifemongers and busy bodies became brisk. High and low were in a state of consternation. For seven days he did not go to the privy, and small and great became still more discomposed. On the eleventh day leeches were applied, and there were signs of improvement. On 24th Shahrīyūr M. Yūsuf K. arrived from Jaunpūr, and was exalted by royal favours. On this day Fath Ullah the *sharbatdār* (butler) was sent to the Deccan, and 500 Aḥadīs went with him. On 7th Mihr the holy form bathed, and there was a great festival.

*Verse.*

There was a feast such as  
 The young had not beheld in dreams.  
 'Twas not a feast, but a picture of sky and stars—  
 An assemblage of the beauties of the seven worlds.

There were various forms of liberality and the world had new joy. Many prisoners were released, and ancient desires were gratified. The attainment of desires increased the thankfulness of every one. Misfortune did not cause him to abandon graciousness, and he civilised the world by justice and liberality, and took into

MS. 236 it appears to me that the true reading is *āfatā* or *āfatāna*, and that the *ba*, if there be such a letter, belongs to the word *rasīd*. *Āfat* is an Arabic word meaning a calamity, and *āfatāna* might be formed from it. Or the word may be *uflā*, falling or occurring. Possibly, however, *āftāba* is A.F.'s euphemism for the urethra.

<sup>1</sup> B. 543. The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls him S. Bihīnāi (?) and refers to Hansur's afterwards receiving the title of Muqarrab K. See B. 543, and *Tūzūk* J. 12, etc.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from 18 Amardād to 7 Mihr on which day Akbar bathed, this being always considered by the orientals as the day of recovery.



consideration the happiness of every one. Such an inquiry cannot be considered as a retribution, nor as a message of warning, though this may not appear so wonderful to those who believe that after the body has decayed, the soul assumes fresh forms. As the changes in the method of Divine Government are not understood by every farseeing one—what can be the case with the superficial?—the searchings of heart diminished somewhat. Apparently (the cause of the accident) was to increase men's devotion and love. The illness disconcerted small and great, and they wished to give their lives and property in exchange for the world's lord.

On the 15th Qāzī Nūr Ullah was sent to make inquiries into the tenures (*sayūrghāl*)<sup>1</sup> of the province of Agra, and an order was given that new land should be given to the necessitous. On the 26th H.M. mounted on horseback and gathered delight in Bāgh Dilāwez. He spent the night with pleasure in the Deer-house. At the end of that day the great lady of the family of chastity, the mother of Prince Sultān Daniel, died. Next day an old servant of the harem of fortune died. H.M. after making his supplications to God adopted resignation, and begged forgiveness for them. On the 28th he returned to his palace. On this day the wife of the Prince Royal, who was the daughter of the ruler of Khāndes, died.

One of the occurrences was the failure of 'Īsāk. When Rajah **714** Mān Singh took up his quarters in Ghorāghāt after the commencement of the rains he fell very ill, and experienced physicians began to despair of his life. 'Īsā and M'āṣūm K. Kābulī and other scoundrels came out to fight. They had come to within twelve *kos*, and the imperialists were prepared to give battle. By the wondrous working of fortune there was little rain and the river fell. With a great deal of difficulty they got away, and had much trouble in moving their boats. When the Rajah got well, he sent a choice army under Himmat Singh to punish them. The scoundrels got away from the interior of the country and came to Kinārā Sindur, and there rested. When the victorious troops approached, some in their confusion lost their lives, and much plunder was taken.

In this year<sup>2</sup> kitchens were established in every city. There

<sup>1</sup> Rent-free. B. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elliot VI. 94. The word

“rice” is used there, but the word is not *birinj*, but *ba-ranj*. The



was a deficiency of rain this year, and high prices threw a world into distress. In the beginning of the year a comet (*zūzūāba*) appeared, and astrologers predicted that there would be dryness and scarcity. The gracious sovereign appointed able men to every place to give food duly to the necessitous. Petitioners constantly came before H.M., and had their desires gratified. Similarly numbers of beggars were made over to rich people (*khwāstadārān.*)(?)

On 2 Ābān the solar weighment took place and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. Numbers of men had their desires gratified. On the 10th, which was a feast day, a Turānī *farāsh* (carpet-sweeper, etc.) lifted up (*barkashīd*) two camels with their loads, and astonished the spectators. On this day *Shāham* came from his fief and was exalted by royal favours.

The idea was that Rustum M. should be sent to guard Gujarat, and that *Shāham* should accompany him as guardian (*atālīq*) so that Prince Murād might gather enjoyment by the royal favour, and the near neighbourhood of his son (Rustum). But the idea was not carried out. At this time saffron flowered in Begrām.<sup>1</sup> H.M. recognized that that country was suitable for this crop, and sent seeds to *Takhta Beg*. On the 11th he learnt that they had sprouted and bloomed. On this day M. Yūsuf obtained leave to go to Gujarat. He obtained a fief in that quarter and was sent there in order that he might assist the army of the Deccan.

famine seems to have been a very severe one and to have even led to cannibalism. See Elliot *id.* 193. The extract there given speaks of its lasting 3 or 4 years. The *Iqbāl-nāma*, writing of the 40th year, says it lasted for six months and that many persons died of hunger. It

certainly lasted longer than that in some places for it was very bad in *Kashmīr* in 1597 when Xavier and Benedict Goes visited that country along with Akbar in the summer.

<sup>1</sup> Near Kabul. For *Takhta Beg* see B. 469.



## CHAPTER CXXIX.

ŞĀDIQ K. IS VICTORIOUS WITH THE HELP OF THE ŞĀHINŞĀH'S  
FORTUNE.

When M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Şhāhī prevailed, the Nizāmu-l-Mul-  
kīyān made in revenge a new plan (paimān). Khudāwand K.,  
Hamīd K., 'Abdu-l-fattāh, Azhdar K., Jamāl K., Dastūr K., and  
others collected 10,000 men and nearly eighty elephants, and re- 715  
solved upon battle. Though the imperial troops did not amount to  
3000, yet, on the encouraging words of their general, they set their  
hearts on fighting. In the centre were Şādiq K., Sanwal Dās,  
Muḥammad Jān Beg, Maulānā Maḥmūdī, and other brave men. In  
the right wing were M. Khan, Saiyid Bāyazīd, 'Izzat K., Malik  
Rādhān and others. Shāh Qulī and Tāhir Aurganjī were on the  
flank, and on the left wing were I'tibār and others. In the van-  
guard were M. 'Alī Beg, Dost (s. Şādiq) and others. Mīr Ḥusainī and  
others were the archers (*uqcīgarī*).<sup>1</sup> They prepared for battle, 40  
*kos* from Maḥkar, and halted 8 *kos* from Pāthri on the bank of the  
Bān<sup>2</sup> Ganga. Having that river in front, and a stream behind, they  
had a strong position for their camp. On 7 Āzar, 17 November,  
1596, they drew up their forces and set their hearts on fighting.  
First, Khudāwand K. with 5,000 horse and 40 elephants fought in  
the van. M. 'Alī Beg displayed masterpieces of battle with a few  
men, and defeated them. Dost,<sup>3</sup> and Saiyid Lād and Ḥasan<sup>4</sup>  
showed valour and fell wounded. The right wing<sup>5</sup> on account of

<sup>1</sup> Though this word properly means archery, it probably here stands for skirmishers. See Irvine's A. of M. 226 and 91. See also Timur's Institutes, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Godavery. But there is also a tributary of the Godavery known as Penganga.

<sup>3</sup> Şādiq's son, says the Iqbāl-nāma. See B. 357.

<sup>4</sup> Text Aḥasan. I follow the Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>5</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma seems to make it the enemy's right wing that fled, but this does not seem to be correct.